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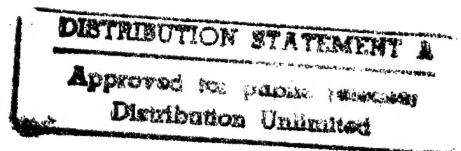
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2015



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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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EFFORTS TO COMBAT FALSIFICATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4 Oct-Dec 81 pp 80-91

[Article by Estref Myftari: "About Some Matters of the Struggle Against the Falsifications of Documents"]

[Text] In our country, after the victory of the people's revolution, crime has been and continues to be one of the aspects of the class struggle under the conditions of the fierce imperialist and revisionist encirclement. The class struggle, as the party teaches us, has a general objective character which should always be taken into consideration in the study of the social phenomena in which crime holds a particular place. The hostile and evilminded activity carried out through the falsification of documents is one of the acute forms of crime.

In the relationships between the people, and between the latter and the state institutions and the socialist social organizations there are, as it is known, a great number of written documents of various kinds such as economic and financial documents, identification documents, personal documents and so forth, which are increasing in proportion to the increase and perfection of these relationships. But, in many cases, these documents are falsified by hostile and evilminded elements in order to achieve their purposes. Their efforts to falsify documents are observed, especially, in the crimes against the state, in the appropriation of socialist property, in the exercise of duty and so forth.

Penal acts in regard to the falsification of documents are, generally, becoming fewer, as a result of the struggle developed against them in the general framework of the struggle against crime. The expertise on crime has also played an important role in this struggle. This fact is shown not only in a more rapid criminal expertise of documents in penal proceedings, but also in the raising to a higher scientific level of investigations and judgment of these matters in general.

In regard to falsification of documents, as seen from a criminal aspect, some issues arise, whose handling, as a whole, would result, however little, in a better organization of the struggle against crimes.

1.--

Falsifications of documents are acts of a particular social danger, because, they affect important state and social interests; therefore, heavy sanctions are stipulated against them in the Penal Code. In the classification of penal acts carried out in this Code, the falsifications of documents do not constitute a separate group; they are stipulated in certain articles and, concretely, in articles 76, 110, 121, 166, 201 and 212 and in various chapters, as independent entities which, according to the target towards which they are directed, are divided according to the degree of social danger, that is, into crimes and into penal infractions. These penal acts have some common elements, especially, in regard to the objective aspect.

Article 76 of the Penal Code refers to the aspect of the falsification of state currency, of state obligatory notes and of foreign currencies.

In practice, the cases specified in Article 110 of the Penal Code occur most often; this article deals with falsification through the presentation, in official documents, of circumstances or of data which are known to be lies and with the drafting and producing of documents which also are known to be false. At the same time, the falsification of documents of the citizens, which are in the files of an institution, enterprise or organization, is also covered.

The term, official documents, means the documents issued or given by an institution, enterprise or organization and which contain necessary elements such as the title, the number, the date and place of issue or of the drafting, the content, the signature of the responsible person and, when it is required, even the seal of the institution, enterprise or organization. These elements constitute those things which, in juridical literature, are usually called requisites of official documents. The absence of one of these necessary elements makes the document lose the character of an official document.

The documents of the citizens, which are in the files of an institution, enterprise or organization, according to this provision, are statements made by private individuals, recording their statements on certain situations in favor or in disfavor of another person. They can also be various reports by which certain persons acknowledge or do not acknowledge certain facts in favor or in disfavor of other persons and of various other documents.

Falsifications in these documents can be carried out through various methods or means and can consist of the alteration of one or of several requisites of the document; but, they constitute an aspect of penal acts, for which, the determining of the method and of the means used for falsification, through crime lab examination, along with other circumstances, serves to evaluate the level of the social danger posed by the author of the falsification, which differs from one case to another.

Apart from the cases when they are encountered as the only form of the presentation of criminal acts, falsifications are widely used as suitable means for perpetrating many other criminal acts, especially, acts against the state and for the appropriation of socialist property. In the latter cases, the author of the falsification is responsible for the criminal act that he has committed,

regardless of whether he commits it by means of the falsification of documents or by other means.

Regardless of whether they constitute independent entities or are used as means for perpetrating other penal acts, from an objective aspect, falsifications of documents are achieved through similar methods falsifying documents, completely or partially. The documents, which are completely falsified, are drafted again by imitating a standard original document. Thus, for example, banknotes, identification papers and so forth are falsified. In regard to partial falsifications, changes are made in the data of the documents by "improving" them in favor of the authors, while, the entire documents remain authentic. These kinds of falsification of documents are more common and are more often encountered in the work of the organs of investigation, of courts and of the crime labs, thus, becoming a direct target of technical and graphic examinations.

In conclusion, about this issue, we deem it necessary, relying on the data of the objective aspect of the forms of penal acts of the falsification of documents and of other acts, where these falsifications serve to perpetrate hostile or malevolent activity, to define the concept of the falsification of documents by relying on their common elements. Therefore, the falsification of documents means the presentation of the false circumstances in them, or the failure to present certain circumstances which exist in reality, by working on the authentic documents with various technical methods, erasing, enlarging and supplementing or creating new fictitious documents.

On the basis of these requirements, it is possible to set up a method for the examination of falsified documents.

## 2.--

A document is the reflection of a definite thought expressed in writing. From this point of view, documents can be written by hand, typed with a typewriter, printed or with photographs and other forms. On the basis of the purpose of preparation, documents are divided into identification documents such as, for example, identification papers, passports, certificates of vital statistics, and so forth; into economic and financial documents such as, for example, incoming papers, dispatch papers, bank vouchers and payment vouchers, payment invoices and so forth; and into personal documents such as certificates of proficiency, school certificates, statements, booklets and letters of correspondence and so forth. While, on the basis of the manner of handling, documents are divided into official documents issued by the responsible government organs, social organizations and so forth, and into documents prepared by the persons themselves.

This classification of documents has its own importance in the various aspects of the examination of documents, while, in the procedural aspect, it is important that any kind of document, prepared in any kind of manner and regardless of the form of its handling must prove a fact or an event of juridical importance. Under these conditions, documents can be either material evidence or written evidence.

In practice, it is of interest to know when documents are material evidence and when they are written evidence. To make this distinction, we must be guided by the definition of the concept of material evidence in general, which must be understood, and by the documents of material evidence, in particular, which, under the conditions covered by the law, can serve as a source of information in regard to the facts and circumstances on the basis of which the penal acts and offenders are discovered. In this light and according to the definition of the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure, the documents which have served as a means for the execution of the penal act, which bear the imprint of the penal act and which have been the object of the criminal activity, as well as the documents which constitute the profit gained from the penal act or the compensation given or promised to be given for the execution of the penal act, all must be considered as material evidence.

The document of material evidence, in various cases, can have not only one of these signs, but also several signs jointly. Thus, for example, a document can have served not only as a means for the execution of the penal act, but also as the very object of the criminal activities, such as, for example, stolen identification papers falsified for the purpose of being used by another person.

While all other documents, whose content confirms the facts which are important in the case and, consequently, together with the materials of the case, are documents of evidence according to Article 30 of the KPP [Code of Penal Procedure], or, as they are often called in practice, written evidence. As such, we consider the written statements on the various investigative and juridical activities, the various official letters, the testimonies, the receipts, the characteristics of the cadre, and so forth. But, these kinds of documents can also be considered material evidence in the case when they contain the above mentioned characteristics of documents of material evidence, according to the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure.

Different views have been expressed in our juridical literature in connection with the classification of documents into documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence. Thus, some authors think that documents are distinguished by the importance they represent for the case; therefore, these documents which present an importance for the case are material evidence, while, the other documents are written evidence. Other authors find the distinction in the subjects that formulate these documents, that is, if the document is drafted by an investigator, a prosecutor or a judge; therefore, it is written evidence; otherwise, the document is material evidence. Another group of authors, in order to make a distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence go by whether the document is original or falsified; when the document is original, then, it constitutes written evidence; when the document is falsified, it constitutes material evidence. Finally, there is another opinion that the distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence consists in their content: when they are examined according to their content, they constitute written evidence; while, when they are considered as objects, regardless of their content, they constitute material evidence.

The distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence, in our opinion, has nothing to do with the proving power from the procedural point of view, because, it is known that the value of every piece of evidence is a result of the concrete circumstances of the case, and the comparison with the totality of the other data which have been collected during the investigation and judgment; however, this distinction is connected with the ways in which they are acquired and handled. The documents of material evidence are obtained through the investigative and court activities of observation, monitoring and confiscation, describing them in an appropriate written statement made on this occasion; while, other documents, the written evidence, are either drafted by an investigator or a judge, or obtained by the state and social organs or by the citizens without the requirement for a special investigative action. The documents of material evidence, different from the documents of written evidence, are joined to the case by a special decision. They accompany the case and are preserved until the termination of the case; and, there is an instruction in the final decision telling what to do with them. When it is impossible to combine the documents of material evidence with the case, for example, when they are voluminous and badly damaged, they are represented by photographs, which on this occasion, have the value of derived material evidence.

The separation of the documents of material evidence from the case must also be carried out by special decision.

The distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence is also important from a criminal aspect, because, it is only documents of material evidence which can be examined. The determining of the sphere of the documents of material evidence, based on the requirements of the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure, which also become the objects of crime lab expertise, with this quality, is important because of the fact that through their examination it is possible to solve some problems which are important for the case.

### 3.--

The various documents are in general submitted to the administrative control of the special government organs for the purpose of verification to know if they really belong to their bearers and users, if they are valid at the time at which they are checked and if they have been issued by the responsible organs. This control is carried out by simple methods: by comparing the document with the person himself; by comparing the generalities of the document with the data of the exterior presentation of the person; by asking questions of verification about the content of the document; by examining the content of the document; and by comparing the seal and signature with the standard models and so forth. When, during the verification of the document, there is a doubt that changes and other subsequent operations have been carried out on the document, or that the document is not original in totality, then, the document is submitted for observation and examination by the crime lab.

The documents of material evidence become objects of the criminalistics expertise when there is a doubt that they have served as means for executing a penal act (for example, the economic and financial documents of material and



In addition to the restoration of the damaged text, the restoration of documents also is a permanent task assigned to the crime lab in these cases. This restoration is carried out not only in order to assist in the discovery of the text, but also to preserve the documents so they can be kept as material evidence.

In cases of examination of documents damaged by burning, special research works are carried out to determine the type of paper or, better, the type of fiber used (cotton, linen, processed pulp, unprocessed pulp and so forth), the filler of the paper (various types of cellulose with short or long fiber, sulfites, sulfates, sodium carbonate, kaolin, silicates and so forth); to determine the type of ink used for writing the text of the document (ink with a ferrogalllic acid base, ink with a carbon base, nigrosine-based ink, and so forth); and finally, to determine the fuel used (gasoline, alcohol, kerosene, and so forth). These examinations are carried out through chemical and criminological methods.

5. The examination of typed documents has some characteristics. This examination is carried out in three stages: first, there is the determining of the type and make of the typewriter; second, there is the identification of the concrete typewriter used for the typing, and third, the final stage, is the determining of the author who has done the typing. In order to achieve the purpose, both the expressions of the spoken language and those of the typist, twisted together, are used. However, this determining is not categorical. The typing of the typist is analyzed together with the group and individual make.

Of course, those are some tasks of a general character set forth before the crime lab in the cases of the examination of documents which are falsified and damaged; while, the concrete tasks are assigned according to the case, depending on the concrete circumstances, on the method used for the falsification, and on the level of the falsification and damage to the document.

4.--

One of the basic requirements in the observation of documents of material evidence is their preservation in the state in which they were seized by the court and investigative organs. But, during the observation and crime lab examination of documents, in the different stages of the investigative and juridical process and of the crime lab's work, changes and damages can be caused to documents. Therefore, documents must be kept and handled with great care. This concern must be increased, especially, during the stage of the criminologist's expertise, when the documents are submitted to complex examinations. Some general rules in regard to the handling of documents can be formulated from the generalization of experience gained in this field.

The documents are photographed in the conditions that they are presented, then, later on, the different methods of observation and examination can be applied to them.

At the beginning of the examination, the content and requisites of the documents are studied. This moment is quite important not only in order to learn about the writing of documents, but also to know their purposes; these data

monetary value which have been used for the appropriation of socialist property) or for concealing the traces of the penal act (for example, the faded, burned and torn documents after the act of appropriation), as well as, when they can help to clarify the circumstances of the case (for example, the documents which have been found in the place of the event).

In all these cases, according to the kind of falsification executed on the document, therefore, in conformity with the extent of the changes made in its content, or with the extent of damages when it is a case of damaged documents, the following issues are solved through technical and crime lab examinations.

1. When we have to deal with complete falsifications of manuscripts and signatures, it is possible to determine the fact of falsification and the concrete manner used, in a given case, through examination by crime labs. The settlement of this issue has a great practical importance, especially, in regard to determining the circle of the people among whom we must look for the author of this falsification, as well as to obtain comparative samples. In addition to this, in these cases, another matter assigned for solution is the determination of the author of the falsification. The identification of the author of a falsified text or of a signature relies on the general and individual characteristics of the personal writing displayed during the execution of the falsified text or signature. In the cases of falsification of these parts of documents through technical imitation, the issue of identification is not presented because the author does not display the original graphic material. This matter is solved mainly through the route of investigations.

2. When we have complete falsifications of seals and stamps, in addition to determining the fact of falsification and the concrete manner used for falsifying, sometimes, the matter of determining the means can also be presented in order to determine whether or not they are used for preparing the falsified seal and stamp. The examination, in these cases, deals with the remains of materials and other traces left on these means, as a result of their use for making the falsified seals and stamps.

3. In the falsifications of parts of documents, the general task of the crime lab, along with discovering the fact of falsification and the concrete method used for falsifying, such as, for example, mechanical or chemical erasing, extension, drafting or finishing of a document with detached parts, also is to determine the content of the initial text. In many cases, this is the main task and, sometimes, the only task assigned for solution. While, the establishment of the author of the falsification can be assigned only in these cases when he [the author] makes new annotations on the documents by using, for this purpose, his own handwriting or a falsified handwriting.

The establishment of whether or not specific means have been used for a given case of partial falsification can be assigned only when these means are found on the persons who are suspected to be considered as defendants.

4. In regard to damaged documents, the task of the crime lab is to discover the content of the initial text which has been damaged and covered with stains, tears or burns, because, it is understood that the determining of the fact of the damage and of the manner used for damaging the document are obvious.

are used to complete the framework of the circumstances of the case. Also, for this purpose, during the expertise, it is necessary to have documents of the same type as those which are being examined in order to compare them and to see in which parts of them there have been changes.

After this preparatory stage, it is possible to move directly to the execution of the various methods of examination. For the purpose of preserving the original aspect of the document, in this stage of examination, methods which do not affect the text and the paper of the document, are used in order not to cause any change to the former aspect of the document. However, in practice, sometimes, it is absolutely necessary to apply methods which damage the existing content of the document when it is necessary to discover its initial content. This action is carried out only when it is allowed by the investigator or the court that has called for the expertise.

It is not allowed to make new notes or folds on the documents of material evidence which are submitted for examination, because, later on, they can be mixed up with the writings or folds made by the authors of the falsifications.

Before applying the various methods for the examination of documents of material evidence, tests are carried out on experimental models which are prepared by the expert himself and made as similar as possible to the conditions existing in the documents submitted for expertise. The preparation of these experimental models can be made by the expert himself, or the expert can ask for similar documents; the damage of experimental documents does not matter.

The results achieved during an examination are verified in regard to their accuracy through experiments carried out on other parts of documents. This rule is implemented, especially, during the examination of the document's paper when there is a suspicion that the falsification has been carried out by using chemical methods or by completing the documents with other parts.

The final correct opinion on the presence or absence of falsification and of the method used for falsification appears after the application of all possible methods of examination on the given case.

The final act includes the description of the methods used during the examination, the results achieved and, finally, the conclusion formulated.

It is only when suitable documents are available, in the required quantity, that the criminologist undertakes their examination; otherwise, it is necessary to ask for additional materials.

The execution of these rules during the observation and criminological examination of documents is valuable not only for their preservation in their original condition, but also for achieving better results in the expertise.

## 5.--

The act of technical expertise of documents is the crowning of the work achieved by the criminological expert. This act is divided into three main parts:



The introductory part, which includes a short presentation of the circumstances under which the need to carry out an expertise was born, sets forth the matters which should be solved and the materials sent for expertising. A detailed presentation of the materials at the disposal of an expert has a practical importance, because, it is on the basis of these materials that his subsequent conclusions will be judged and assessed.

The examination is done in two phases: the separate examination of the objects and the comparative examination of them.

In the first phase, all the methods used for the examination of documents are described and all the results achieved in every one of them are recorded. From here also arises the methodical requirement that the act of expertise show not only the results of the examination, but also the entire process which has been carried out. However, this does not mean that all the marks discovered during the examination are described. In fact, only the marks needed for identification are described.

In the majority of the cases, examinations of documents are done through experimental work, just as many kinds of criminological expertises are done in general. This is one of the characteristics of the criminological expertise, which is different from the other kinds of expertises. Therefore, in order to have an analytical picture of the expert's work in the act of expertise, it is necessary that, in the examination part, we describe the experiments which have been carried out, bringing into the open the following moments: the purpose of the experiment, the order of the activities which have been carried out, the results achieved, the conditions which have been changed in order to render difficult the achievement of these results and, finally, the manner of fixing (in photography and in other means) these results.

A detailed description of the methods of examination and of experiments is executed not only for the purpose of training the expert in the execution of scientific methods of expertise, but also for the purpose of creating opportunities for the investigator and the court to correctly evaluate the results of these examinations and, in the case of a repeat expertise, to be able to reproduce them accurately.

The conformities with or possible differences between the identifying marks of the objects, which are compared, are described in the second phase, the phase of the comparative examination.

The final part, or the conclusions of the expertise, is the deduction of the results achieved after the execution of all possible methods of examination in regard to the case in question.

Logical relationships must exist between the examination part and the conclusions of the act of expertise; if the conclusions are not based on this part and do not come as a result of it, then, they cannot be accepted as evidence.

According to the case, the conclusions are formulated as possible or as categorial. There are different opinions in connection with the value as evidence of possible conclusions of the expertise.<sup>1</sup> As this issue has been

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1. In regard to this, see the Second Criminalistics Conference.

discussed many times in our juridical literature, we will treat only one aspect of it, precisely, the aspect which deals with the value of the possible conclusions when they are used correctly and in totality with the other evidence administered in regard to this issue.

Our practice of many years in criminal expertise has accepted the issuance of opinions based on probability. This fact has opened the path for further investigations of the case and has shown what kinds of investigative activities should be undertaken so as to establish relationships between facts and happenings and to seek new facts. For example, in the case of the examination of a document, in connection with a written statement on the reception of some materials, the criminalistics expert, examining the signature of the receiver of the materials who refused to admit to having signed the document, found out that the signature was not original, but that it was falsified, and that imitation had been used as a method of falsification. Of course, in this case, the author of the falsification could not have been determined through methods of criminalistics expertise. However, this conclusion enabled the investigator of this case to reinforce his conviction that the denial of the defendant who, in this case, was the receiver of the materials according to the statement in question, was correct. Exonerating this person as the author of the falsification, the investigations were orientated towards other persons and, concretely, towards the storeman who had prepared a fictitious statement, on the occasion of an inventory in order to conceal discrepancies in the storehouse and, for this purpose, had falsified the signature of K.B. by imitating it. Therefore, although, in this case, only a possible conclusion was reached, nevertheless, it was correctly used and, combined with the other evidences, it served both to exonerate an innocent person from penal responsibility and to discover the real author of the falsification.<sup>2</sup>

A special problem in connection with the interpretation and evaluation of the possible conclusions of the criminalistics expertise, is presented by the cases of examination of falsified signatures, when the falsification and the methods used for falsification are discovered, but the author of the falsification cannot be determined, by the expert. In this case, the conclusion includes both the possible author of the falsification and the person whose signature is being examined, because, he might have purposely changed his signature. The determination of signature falsified by the person himself or by another person cannot be made, many times, through the methods for examination of signatures which have been devised up to now; therefore, it is understandable that, in these cases, the expert's conclusion must be interpreted in a broad sense and the list of authors who might have done the falsification must include the person whose signature is written.

In this way, the expert's conclusions, correctly analyzed and linked with all the other evidence and circumstances of the case, can enable the cases to be resolved in an objective manner.

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2. Act of expertise No 91 of 24 May 1976 of LQK.

An incorrect attitude towards the value as evidence of possible conclusions is as harmful as an uncritical attitude toward categorical conclusions. The conviction that an idea is correct and sound, regardless of whether it is formulated in a categorical or probable manner, must emerge from the entire examination of the expertise that has been carried out, and its evaluation in regard to the concrete case must come later.

6.--

The entire work of our party and of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the struggle against crime, aims, first of all, at preventing penal acts. The preventive struggle is linked both with the measures which the party and the government take for the maximum limitation of the conditions which help the rise and development of crimes in general and with the special tasks for the complete and objective investigation of penal acts, with the aim that their concrete causes be discovered.

It is also in this light that one should consider the tasks of the organs of the court, of the prosecutor's office and of the investigator's office, in the struggle against the falsification of documents, as one of the typical, varied manifestations of penal acts. Among these tasks, the main ones are:

The rapid, complete and thorough discovery and investigation of penal acts, for whose execution falsified documents have been utilized;

The discovery of the things which have enabled the author to prepare and perpetuate falsified documents;

The execution of technical and scientific criminalistics methods and means for discovering, determining and examining falsified documents.

Every penal act, regardless of its nature, leaves many invisible traces which can be discovered only through technical and scientific criminalistics methods and means. The utilization, on a wide level, of criminalistics methods and means not only in the laboratory by specialists, but also in everyday work by investigators and courts, increases the quality of investigations and of judgments and makes it possible for them to be more and more developed on scientific bases.

In practical work, the confirmation of the fact of whether or not we are facing the implementation of a criminal act through the falsification of documents is often a difficult task. For this, a great help, along with the other forms provided by criminalistics expertise. Despite improvements in the direction of a wider use of the results of criminalistics expertise in this field, as resulting from the experience of judgment, of investigations and of the crime lab, there are still shortcomings and weaknesses linked mainly with the collection of materials and with their dispatching for expertizing. In many cases, the investigator and the court sent, for the purpose of comparison, experimental models, neglecting the models which are free, especially, in regard to handwritings and signatures. There also are cases when the signatures of suspected persons, signatures which are written on the statements

of their questionnaires at the investigator's office, are sent as models for the purpose of comparison; this fact renders difficult the implementation of the criminalistics expertise. And, when free models are sent, they have not always been actual--written at a time as near as possible to the date of document which is being studied. There are other cases when only signatures are sent, as free models, leaving aside the handwriting of the persons, whose signatures are being studied, or of the other persons with whom they will be compared. Therefore, according to the case and in conformity with the document, which has become the object of expertise, and the matters submitted to be solved, experimental models prepared under similar conditions and with similar means as those of the documents of objects for expertise, as well as the free models which are completed in time before and after the date of the completion of the document which is being expertized--are sent for expertise.

A preliminary and thorough study of falsified documents is not always done by all investigators. Thus, the criminalistics experts, during the study of these documents, also observe other falsifications about which they have reported, regardless of the questions laid down in the decision on the determining of the expertise. Therefore, the expansion of the study of documents of material evidence in the penal case would provide a better execution of the tasks in this field in order to carry out a discovery work at a higher level.

Also in the drafting of decisions on the determining of expertises, in some cases, one can still observe shortcomings and gaps both in regard to the individuality of the objects of expertise and the assignment of the issues which must be solved, whose solution would improve the quality of the criminalistics expertise, along with the qualitative improvement of the investigation and judgment of the penal cases in general.

In reducing penal acts regarding the falsification of documents, it would be important on the part of the state organs to improve some measures of technical and organizational nature in connection with the production, completion, and administration of various documents and, especially, of economic and financial documents.

The economic and financial documents are often printed on transparent and colored paper of poor quality. For this reason, they are easily damaged and pave the way for falsification and, sometimes, they become useless for the expertise. Therefore, for documents in general, it would be better to use paper of high quality and, for the more important documents, to execute stamping of the protective net more widely. The blocks of these documents, after having every copy numbered, must be handled and given the same consideration as all other documents of value. They must be handed over to responsible persons in the accounting office and a receipt must be obtained. Their consumption must be verified for every sheet and physical numbering. The canceled sheets must be kept in the block as all the sheets which are not used; and the blocks in reserve must be stored in safe places.

In many documents, especially, shipping papers, receipts, payrolls, bills, files, invoices and so forth, which are more often the objects of criminalistics expertise, have a small space for signatures; this fact limits the

possibility that a person will write down his full name, surname and so forth. The creation of conditions for the purpose of writing signatures has its importance, too; it should not happen, as sometimes it does happen, that a person writes his signature standing, with his hand on the window sill, without resting his arm on something and so forth. For this reason, the person, who writes his signature in this manner, underestimates it and simplifies it into some graphic elements without any identification value. It must be established that as a rule, a person should write his signature in the form of a text, that is, his full name and surname and this will put an end to bad writing of most complicated signatures. Seen from this aspect, the regulation approved by Decision No 64 of the Council of Ministers on 26 December 1966, Article 15, notes: "The act of receiving wages by a worker for his work is certified by his own signature...."; this must be interpreted in a wider sense, that is, that by his signature one must understand that he must write his full name and surname. Also, in the document model where the word "signature" is written, it must be written "name, surname and signature." When documents are made in many copies with carbon paper, every copy of the document must be signed by hand.

A greater care must be shown for the completion of these documents for a more exact implementation of the regulations established for this purpose. They must be completed with ink or copying pencil; the content of every column must be written clearly; the uncompleted column must be drawn before and after the figures of the parts (pieces, kilograms); the equals sign must be put to the sums of leks; the total sum must also be written in letters; and no rectification of the content of these documents must be allowed, especially, of the content of quantities, units and values.

9150

CSO: 2100/58

STRUCTURE, FUNCTION OF 'PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIONS' ANALYZED

'Democratic Centralism' Concept

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 32 No 16, 24 Apr 82 p 14

[Article by Heinrich Oberreuter: "Supreme Organs Without Leeway—Idea and Reality of Socialist Representative Bodies"]

[Text] If one takes Lenin at his word, there can be no such thing as "socialist parliamentarism." Although he cannot visualize a democracy without representative bodies, "we can and we must visualize them without parliamentarism provided that we do not intend our criticism of bourgeois society to be taken as empty words." And so, none of the criteria normally used to define free parliamentarism exists in the socialist systems. Representative bodies in these states are not chosen on the basis of election processes which could by any stretch of the imagination be called free; nor are they invested with any powers that might provide them with a modicum of autonomy or permit them to become an independent force within the governmental apparatus; nor still do the concepts of freedom of the deputies themselves correspond to liberal, parliamentary principles. Marx, Engels and Lenin viewed parliamentarism as a form of domination specific to bourgeois society and parliaments as such as instruments of domination of the ruling class. "In parliament, there is only chatter which serves the purpose of misleading the 'lower classes,'" Lenin said, adding that the actual affairs of state are conducted behind the scenes, a procedure that is to be hidden from view by this "chatter" addressed to the public. In that sense, the neo-Marxist critique of parliamentarism in our day is by no means original.

Parliamentarism is only recognized as an essentially useful instrument to help bring about revolutionary transformation. The leftwing communists looked upon parliaments as basically alienating and corrupting institutions. Others, who did not share this view, looked upon them as offering an opportunity to act and to agitate with the aim of reaching the revolutionary goal. Marx himself had recognized the special importance of the communication function early on. Engels and Lenin argued that this stage for agitation be used for the purposes of enlightenment and self-portrayal and that the techniques inherent in parliamentarism be turned into tools that would hasten its own abolition.



## A Useful Instrument

As we know, the theoretical alternative is the idea of Soviets which, however, cannot be easily reconciled with parliamentary principles. In socialist practice, even the contents of this ideal concept have gotten lost. It was not the base that was strengthened but the center. The alternative between proletarian democracy and proletarian dictatorship was decided in favor of dictatorship. The leadership role of the party is dominant in its relationship to the representative bodies and has always—as it still does—put the realization of true popular sovereignty in question.

The constitutions of all socialist states specify that the people—the working class—is the sovereign. This limitation—which applies throughout—provides clear proof of the class character of the socialist state. This limitation has always made it possible to keep persons out of the circle of the sovereign arbitrarily and to take away their rights. Though there is some talk at present of a "state of the whole people," this does not mean an abandonment of the principles of the class struggle but is indicative of the logical conclusion that none but the working class will be represented once the former "exploiter classes" have been subdued and eliminated.

## The Party Is Dominant

At the same time, popular sovereignty which is tightly circumscribed sociologically is not given free rein politically, either. That is because Marxism-Leninism extends the privilege of being an uncompromisingly revolutionary class only to the proletariat and raises its right to leadership to the level of a constitutional principle. The communist party is cast in the role of the "avant-garde" which claims the title to leadership and authority in the state for itself. Any potential contention between the popular will and the will of the party runs afoul of this claim to leadership and is dissolved by it. In this way, the sovereignty of the working class is systematically reduced to the sovereignty of the communist party. These interrelationships apply to "socialist parliamentarism" as such. They emerge with particular clarity in the constitution of the GDR which states on the one hand in Article 47, 2: "The sovereignty of the working class, accomplished on the basis of democratic centralism, is the primary principle supporting the structure of the state." Article 1, on the other hand, which serves as the basis of the system, states that the GDR is "the political organization of the working population ...led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party." "Democratic centralism," as the decisive ordering principle of the state and of society, ensures the SED's claim to leadership and the exercise of power, the more so since the tensions between its democratic and its centralist elements have long since (both in fact and in theory) been nullified in favor of hierarchical subordination and strict party discipline. And so Article 47 of the GDR constitution states with the utmost brevity that popular sovereignty is implemented through the unbridled leadership role of the communist party acting as the avant-garde of the working class.

This then is a resumé of the elementary conditions under which representative bodies exist in socialist systems. Now since popular sovereignty is nullified a priori by the communist party's right to leadership, the decisive question then is what the relationship between the popular representation and that party really is. Since the parliament can hardly be accorded greater freedom of action than the people, viewed as the ideal sovereign, the parliament in effect receives just as small a share of the real power as the people itself. The constitutional provisions applicable to this matter are very clear—albeit not in their actual wording but in their interpretation in conjunction with Marxist government theory and constitutional law. Article 108 of the Soviet constitution refers to the Supreme Soviet as "the highest government organ of the USSR." Article 48 of the GDR constitution states in equally plain language: "The People's Chamber is the highest government organ of the German Democratic Republic. In its plenary sessions, it decides on the basic questions of state policy." What does this mean in actual fact ?

#### Prescribed Line

One is almost tempted to say that this constitutes parliamentarism of a high, so as not to say, superior order, since the postulation of a "supreme" body would seem to include the setting of clear priorities. But right here we are faced with a rather stable problem in constitutional theory or even a fundamental difference to constitutional theory as interpreted in the liberal democracies. This type of priority leaves no room for separation of powers, for checks and balances; for the control and restriction of power through the establishment of diverse centers of power, independent by and of themselves. This is something entirely different from the modifications of mechanistic concepts of the separation of powers as can be observed in most present-day parliamentary systems of government which have nonetheless retained the core principle of guaranteeing freedom. The socialist systems, on the other hand, discard this principle consciously as a matter of course. The GDR constitution even goes so far as to underscore (in Article 48, 2) "the principle of the unity of decision-making and implementation." All it does thereby is to follow the prescribed classic line which goes back to Marx himself.

#### The Commune Model

Marxist-Leninist government theory traces the concentration of all state power in the representational bodies back to the model of the Paris Commune which is said to have been "not a parliamentary body but a working, legislative body which implemented the laws it passed," according to Engels. Not only the GDR constitution but those of all other socialist states draw on this model.

But the abandonment of the separation of power does not make the parliament strong but rather opens the way to an assault on its original powers. It serves to justify, for example, the wide-ranging jurisdictional activities in which other state organs, particularly the government apparatus, are



engaged in all these countries. As long as it is stipulated that all these state organs are subordinate to the "sovereign will of the people," the legislative activity by the government apparatus, for instance, is considered an "inalienable activity." Since popular sovereignty culminates in the workers party's right to leadership which adapts the entire state apparatus and the executive branch to its own use anyway, these "supreme organs of state power" are anything but powerful. The leadership role exercised by the Marxist-Leninist party actually does not permit them to raise any claims to power themselves.

### Misleading Comparisons

Given the structure of the system, controversies are unlikely to arise; but if they do, they are resolved by means of a subtle differentiation between "governmental" and "political" authority. Those endowed with governmental authority are the parliamentary bodies while political power rests with the party and this in turn assigns to it the superior, leading role.

To compare this to the prudery of political parties in the pluralist democracies is totally misleading, since the circumstances are entirely different: there is open political competition; there is no identity between the state and society and there are ways of differentiating and delimiting specific political spheres. Such comparisons also tend to overlook completely the communication and bridge-building functions of the political parties as between the state and society in a modern democracy. They also overlook the illegitimacy of an unbridled party state as well as the freedom of the opposition and the adherence of the ruling majority of the moment to political principle which defines government as a revokable, controlled trust limited in time and a condition that must be acceptable not only to the majority but for all citizens. There is more than a mere difference in degree between the major or even dominant role political parties tend to play in an essentially open and competitive political process and the dictatorship exercised by a workers party in the Leninist sense and within the framework of its execution of immutable historical laws. As for the relationship between the party and the popular representation, Lenin's statement still holds: "No political or organizational matter of any consequence... may be decided by any government body without guidance from our party's central committee."

Thus, the role to be played by the supposedly supreme constitutional body is determined by the freedom of action the party, which holds a monopoly on policy, is willing to grant. The basic difference between a democratic parliament and a socialist representative body is inherent in this "depolitization" which is built into the system.

### Mandate "from Above"

Socialist representative bodies only serve to implement the tasks defined by the party. Beyond that, it is their duty offensively to influence the

people along the lines of these policies. This conforms to a brief statement of functional responsibilities in the socialist camp according to which the representative bodies have a decisive role to play in the implementation of democratic socialism which is another way of saying that they are responsible for strict uniformity and adherence to the hierarchical principle (as opposed to pluralism and participation).

While there may sometimes be technological and economic strictures which lead to careful and, in any event, informal challenges to sacrosanct, ideological dogma, the basic precepts have not changed to this day. According to Klaus Sorgenicht, for example, one of the GDR's leading constitutional experts, socialist democracy is not perfected by an improvement in transparency or an increase in controversial co-determination. In his view, it is important to "keep the citizenry well informed at all times, to explain the intentions of the local authorities throughout the country in order to have them understand the decisions made by the government bodies." Deputies and people's representatives are called upon to "organize work throughout the country jointly with the people and to mobilize economic reserves." For another thing, "every deputy must be provided with convincing information and background material and their substantive and professional expertise must be put to even more intensive use in the fulfillment of plan goals." This type of popular representation does not get its inspiration "from below" or even from the representative body itself. It is a job decreed "from above" in the sense of the previously mentioned functional model and the power flow demanded by Lenin.

#### Token Power

Bonn DAS PARLIAMENT in German Vol 32 No 16, 24 Apr 82 p 14

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeff: "No Spontaneous Debates Take Place—The People's Chamber of the GDR"]

[Text] When Herbert Fechner, a deputy of the GDR People's Chamber, looks out of his office window in the East Berlin "Palace of the Republic" he can see a one-meter high golden cross atop the dome across the street. But the Christian symbol does not bother communist Fechner. "It does not disturb me," he says. In fact, he is amused by the fact that here in the heart of East Berlin the powerful state and the powerless church are co-existing in such close proximity.

68 year-old SED politician Fechner, who was lord mayor of East Berlin from 1967 to 1974, has been a member of the People's Chamber for 15 years. Since 1981, he has been one of the "directly elected" East Berlin deputies as a result of a unilateral decision taken by the GDR to let all Berlin deputies occupy seats in parliament—in contrast to West Berlin deputies in the Bundestag. When Fechner was forced to give up the mayor's post in 1974, he became chairman of the interparliamentary group of the People's Chamber and this job distinguishes him from the 500 other deputies. He has his own

office; he travels a lot and maintains contact with parliamentarians all over the world. He represents the GDR in the Interparliamentary Union whose 1980 conference in East Berlin he chaired.

Herbert Fechner, one could say, is the only "professional parliamentarian" in the GDR. Most of the others—insofar as they are not functionaries of the state apparatus or the SED—work at their jobs in industrial plants, agricultural cooperatives, schools or hospitals. They have their own profession to attend to. From time to time, they meet with the voters and are called to East Berlin 10 times a year at most to take part in committee meetings or plenary sessions. The activities of a People's Chamber deputy bear no comparison to those of Western parliamentarians.

### An Organ of Consent

The GDR constitution calls the People's Chamber the "supreme organ of state power." Within the context of socialist democracy as understood in the GDR, it may be justified to rank it in this manner even if the GDR is dominated by the SED. But in actual fact, the People's Chamber is quite meaningless in political terms. It cannot make decisions on any alternatives and is not required to work out compromises, nor is it empowered to amend legislative proposals or personnel assignments. It can merely put its stamp of approval on them.

All resolutions—with very few exceptions—are passed unanimously; mostly without debate. Sessions take place two to five times a year and last a very few hours. When People's Chamber president Horst Sindermann (who is a very high-ranking SED functionary) calls for a vote, he always asks whether there are any nays or abstentions but most of the time he does not even look up and while he is still in the process of saying "unanimously adopted" the applause of the deputies has already begun. There was a noteworthy exception back in 1972 when the law on terminating pregnancies at the end of 3 months was up for a vote: Several members of the CDU fraction voted against it.

The People's Chamber is not an organ of power but an organ of consent. Although it formally lists nine fractions the strength of which is rigidly laid down and cannot be altered through elections, they are of no practical significance. They pursue no specific or independent policies and carry no political weight. The strongest fraction according to the established formula is that of the SED with its 127 members. It is followed by the FDGB with 68 and the four "bloc parties" (CDU, DBD, LDPD and NDPD) with 52 members each. The FDJ has 40 members; the DFD has 35 and the KB has 22 members. Since almost all the People's Chamber deputies representing the four mass organizations are members of the SED, the "leading party of the working class" provides at least 260 or in any event more than half of all the deputies.

## Voter's Choice Out of the Question

To be sure, the People's Chamber deputies are required to give a regular accounting to their voters throughout their 5-year term of office and they can in fact be dismissed for "serious violations" of their duties. But in practice, it is out of the question for the voters from below to oppose the principle of democratic centralism imposed from above. Deputies are called upon to act in their election district, if someone needs a bigger apartment or cannot cope with the bureaucracy or runs into some other everyday problem. It is not so much the job of GDR representatives to participate in the decision-making process as to see to the implementation of these decisions.

There are 338 men and 162 women in the People's Chamber elected on 14 June 1981. 99.21 of all voters participated in the election; 99.86 percent of these voted yes. Compared to the Bundestag, the 32.4 percent proportion of women is fairly high although it went down by 1.2 percent as against the 1976 election. Given the scant political influence exercised by the People's Chamber, however, the statement often made by GDR officials that women "have more to say" there than in the FRG need not be taken too seriously. Here are some more People's Chamber statistics: 47.2 percent of the deputies are classified as workers; 10.4 percent as peasants; 17.8 percent as white-collar and 23 percent as "members of the intelligentsia." One must add, however, that the occupations listed are those the deputies were trained for and not those they necessarily pursue at present. All 26 members of the SED Politburo, for example, are members of the People's Chamber and so are most of the 30 government ministers with practically all of them classified as workers.

## Verbatim Transcripts

Compared to the Bonn parliament, the People's Chamber presents a strange sight. The deputies sit there listening to the speakers in silence and many note down what is being said (although the full text of speeches can be found in all the newspapers next day). There is no in-between applause; no one gets up from his seat during the meeting or leaves the hall; there are no spontaneous debates and there are rarely any interruptions. In fact, only one person twice availed himself of this parliamentary prerogative during the past 10 years and that was Erich Honecker, the Secretary General of the SED.

As everywhere in the GDR, the leading role of the party is neither denied, nor covered up in the People's Chamber, whose function it is to give its consent to legislative proposals and personnel appointments decided upon beforehand by the SED. It is no exaggeration—in fact it is justified—to call the People's Chamber of the GDR the "people's representation of the SED."

One of the 500 deputies is natural scientist Sieglinde Metten. Like Herbert Fechner, she has been a member of the People's Chamber for 15 years; but she does not belong to the SED but the LDPD. She does not seem to have any problems with the role she is playing in this organ of consent. To explain why she wanted to continue serving as a deputy, she said that her party maintained "friendly ties to the SED" at an election meeting in an old people's home. There was, she said, hardly anyone who could object to the SED's social and peace policies. "We just don't need an opposition," Sieglinde Metten concluded.

9478

CSO: 2300/267

## YOUTH DISTRUST OF PARTY RHETORIC DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Alicja Matynia-Bonik: "Youth Don't Trust Promises"]

[Text] In the Polish Optical Plants [PZO] in Warsaw, youth constitute nearly half of the personnel. They are the future of the plant, the hope of Poland optics and, at the same time, the concern of the older generation. In the agelong generational conflict, the elders today are morally more at fault. Aware of this, they are trying to seek out new ways in which to make amends to their heirs.

I spoke with several young workers of the PZO. One of them, Jan Pludzianowski, a 30-year-old metalworker, is virtually always perplexed. In the District Committee group, where he is an executive member, he is told that he thinks like a youth and not like a party member. On the other hand, when he speaks with his friends at the plant, he is taunted that he does not understand and thinks like an active party member. Jan Pludzianowski knows that this is not a compliment.

A divergence of opinions? It is, rather, the younger generation's lack of faith in the outlook described in promises. The young working generations are the 20 to 30-year-olds to whom a stabilized life has been promised; but this life moves farther and farther into the distant future after the end of the crisis. Therefore, they feel bitter and rebellious. In Jan Pludzianowski's opinion, the youth left the party not so much because of ideological reasons as from a lack of corroboration of this ideology with life. The party would like to see the youth once more involved in the solution of all problems, full of belief in a better future, aware, of course, of the repudiations that the crisis years bring with them. For the time being, however, rebelliousness and distrust dominate the attitude of the youth. Prosperity was promised them and they believe in it. In the meantime, long years of hard life are awaiting them.

A day does not go by in which the first secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee], Zenon Zapala, does not write in his notebook--full of urgent matters--of another new housing intervention. Since the activities of the professional unions were suspended, workers come to the KZ Party with all their complaints about living conditions. Requests for help in renting an apartment are most frequent. And, most often, these are by young men, like Pludzianowski, who live with a wife



and two children sheltered under their in-laws' roof. Piotr Wasiak, a machinery metalworker, lives together with his wife and two children in a single miserable room. And how many, many others there are. Before martial law, some friends intended to strike on behalf of Wasiak. He is one of the finest skilled workmen; a disciplined worker and a decorated, committed party member. "How can it be that there isn't a cooperative apartment for such a person?" asked his friends. "So who gets to take advantage of them?" From the point of view of those waiting for an apartment, even the construction of the metro seems premature. Apartments should be built first [in order] to solve the problem finally.

The factory organization, the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], is sponsoring the construction of three blocks [of building] at Goclaw Airport. These apartments have already been all but taken away from them. The housing cooperative became independent in the new year and tried to get rid of all of its sponsors. The memory of the fight for retention of the sponsorship elicits agitation to this day. Jan Pludzianowski says that people continually recall how a delegation of "3" sought an intervention at the Central Committee, and "5"--to Secretary Kociulek... This defense of youths' interests raised the influence of the youth organization.

Andrzej Zalewski, a 25-year-old tool metalworker, a non-party man and member of the ZSMP, points to the following lack of results in this area. He urges the youth to organize a cooperative association for the construction of single-family houses but, as before, the area under [the authority of] this building trade has not been drawn out. Furthermore, will the youth be able to afford it? Besides the input of their own physical labor, [there is] the purchase of materials and the repayment of the huge credit, indispensable to the realization of such an investment. "And who, ultimately, will assure us," he asks, "that the property rights to this building will not be taken away after a few years?" There were many such varied actions that met the youth halfway, but then the situation changed and new ideas incompatible with the earlier determinations emerged.

Youths, by their nature and the prerogative of their age, are more daring, reckless and prone to a greater emotional involvement. This same Zalewski tried to explain why the youth have joined "Solidarity" in such great numbers. "This is not only an expression of protest against the distortions perpetrated by the leadership of the party and the government, this is not only a revolt against falseness, it is also a chance to display one's feelings. [a chance] for resolution, for verification..."

Others confirmed these observations. Youths follow on a leash unwillingly.

A willingness to do legitimate work and, simultaneously, to live out a consumer's approach to life, which the youth are often accused of, are the two sides of truth about today's generation of youth. As Wojciech Jakubowski, the 30-year-old chairman of the ZSMP Plant Board and party member, from the electronics technology plant, says, "The youth didn't come up with this attitude of consumption on their own. For many years there were a great deal of promises for a better and easier life, but [the concept of] honest work was not taught. 'I'm the future of the nation; otherwise, however, I've got nothing but troubles' some of my friends answer nowadays when I propose to them that they join our organization," Jakubowski says bitterly,

Certain kinds of hustlers and crafty types were formed in the youth movement. Zdislaw Kamionowski, a 30-year-old warehouse manager and party member, says that it [the movement] promoted those who were not familiar with a work environment by assigning them to a variety of positions of authority in the young peoples' organization. There aren't many who are active in leadership and have come from the factories. It is not surprising, then, that there is no understanding or commonality of interests. A worker's idea is often more sound than the polished words of an official whose career began immediately after his studies.

There is a lack of respect for the worker's labor. There isn't any even at the plant. The system of pay promotes this. At the worker's position, the prospect of attaining a higher salaried group stops at a certain point. Therefore, the desire for acquiring qualifications and rising through the occupation ranks is lost. That is why "golden hands" [i.e., highly skilled workers], among others, are not increasing. The youths from the PZO consider a change in this situation to be indispensable and relevant to economic reform.

Not only a proper salary scale, but also appropriate work training in vocational and technical schools would promote respect for work. Each of the young people who spoke with me recalled how he stood at the workbench for the first time and fell into the "madness of ignorance of the practical." The old cadre, absorbed in their own business and their desires to earn higher wages, don't pay much attention to the youngsters, whose theory does not always agree with practice. The problem of youths' adaptation has been extremely important and urgent for years. And not only from the viewpoint of the humanization of work.

How to win over the youth and revive their enthusiasm? Using the example of his plant, Jan Pludzianowski has ascertained that his generation is very divided. Some are possessed by a distrust of the success of any kind of activity and it is difficult to talk to them nowadays. Some are indecisive, taciturn hiding in the hope of what will be next. But there are also those in whom, in spite of all the adversities, glows a spark of faith and a desire for action. A total of 215 members remained in the youth organization; 100 left.

"We would like to ask Secretary Zapala to meet with us," says the ZSMP chairman, Wojciech Jakubowski, "and jointly reflect how to revive the youth movement on our plant premises, convince the suspicious that there's no use dodging since the country should depend chiefly on them in order to extricate itself from this crisis as quickly as possible. This will decide the quality of their lives."

"Not everything in our work before was wrong. It isn't true that our patriotism was only for show," says Zdzislaw Kamionowski.

"We want a return to some of the work structures," says Chairman Jakubowski. "Ideological instruction in the old style doesn't hold. The authorities, full of errors and causes for deviation from party ideology, and without ideological, elucidating work, also shouldn't count on a change in the youths' attitude toward a reform of reality. To tell the truth, even though resented by the youth, is less harmful than every disguised lie."



The opinions of the Central Committee party secretary on the topic of the younger generation were similar to those expressed by the concerned [parties] themselves.

"We did everything," says First Secretary Zenon Zapala, "so that the youth could have fun and go to camp, but a lack of proper ideological upbringing arose. It was a language of slogans and not hard facts. Now, in order to regain influence over the younger generation, hard facts must be employed. Without a prospect of remedying the housing situation for the young people, without assuring them of professional advancement, we will not win them over to our cause."

"Because they know," adds Secretary Andrzej Krzeminski, "that the burden of getting out of this crisis falls on their backs in the first place. We will leave, but they will remain with their families and the problems of their living standard, unprepared for this situation."

"The party didn't educate them, and we, their parents, didn't educate them either, though we did raise them," Secretary Marian Rabong admits. "This was the fashion in life. The job of working with the youth from the ground up is waiting for us [now]. But we must be accepted by them for there to be any results."

"First of all, we must begin not with a wide policy, but by drawing them in to our work," Secretary Krzeminski. "Help them but, at the same time, charge them with appropriate tasks so that they feel trustworthy."

"We can do a lot here," says Secretary Zapala, "though questions concerning the younger generation must be solved on a broad scale, and there must be nationwide laws, which everyone abides by, that would create a definite, substantial and credible prospect."

The secretary is right. The youth nowadays do not trust promises.

9891

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'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON KAUNDA-BOTHA MEETING

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 3 May 82 p 5

[Article by Wiktor Weggi: "A Meeting with Implied Meanings"]

[Text] On the border between Botswana and the Republic of South Africa there was a meeting on Friday [30 April 1982] between the president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, and the head of the government in Pretoria, Pieter Botha. As noted by the Western [press] agencies, the subject of the one-day "summit" was, primarily, the problems concerning Namibia and race discrimination in the Republic of South Africa.

The lack of further reporting, permits only the making of a hypothesis. There is no doubt that this was an event of great importance even if because of the fact that such a meeting took place at all. Zambia belongs to the group of so-called front-line states (consisting also of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), which for years have been demanding a just solution of the Namibian question. Until now, the front-line states have not had direct talks with Pretoria since they do not have diplomatic relations with it [Pretoria]. Therefore, if President Kaunda agreed to meet personally with Premier Botha this can mean that perhaps either he received the agreement of the other African states for this step or else he is acting on his own.

The first variant, which seems to me the most probable, can then mean that the front-line states are prepared to enter into a certain compromise on the Namibian question with Pretoria, for it is difficult to believe that Botha has written off Namibia. On the other hand, if that is the way things are, this signifies a very dangerous evolution of events in South Africa, and, above all, departure from the assumption that the only legal representative of the Namibian nation is the Southwest African Peoples' Organization [SWAPO]. Such an approach to the problems, as a result, would be tantamount to a toning down of the demands of the front-line states with regard to Pretoria on holding universal and democratic elections under the supervision of the UN, and, as a result, a government of future, independent Namibia would be formed.

The second variant, which has many grounds, suggests in turn that among the front-line states a split has occurred. Though they all demand the independence of Namibia, they see this independence differently. And that view

is conditioned by the political situation in each of them, as well as by their external ties. Angola would like to see an independent Namibia at its side for the danger of the aggression of the Republic of South Africa against the young republic has not vanished. Mozambique holds the same position. But Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Zambia have different calculations. Zambia is too strongly economically and politically tied to the West for it to be able to support the socialist road of development of future independent Namibia proposed by the leader of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma. What is worse, it is also to a large degree dependent economically on Pretoria and must reckon with the fact that its radicalism would result in economic countermeasures on the part of the Republic of South Africa. There is then, therefore, such an interpretation of the Kaunda-Botha meeting which assumes a certain softening of the demands of Lusaka in exchange for certain economic benefits on the part of Pretoria, all the more desirable since Zambia at present is experiencing tremendous economic difficulties.

Nevertheless, I do not believe that Kaunda betrayed the Namibian issue. This would bring him more harm than benefit. Divided by territorial disputes and different political orientations, Africa is homogeneous with regard to the problem of Namibia and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa. An express severance from this community of views would have to end for Zambia with its isolation from the African community, which it certainly does not desire.

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## PRIORITY AREAS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM OUTLINED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 11 Apr 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by Maria Rybarczyk: "Quo Vadis Education?"]

[Text] This is not the first time we are asking this question; however, I believe that today it is more important and more topical than ever before. Why? After the strong upheavals and often dramatic struggles over the content and direction of the renewal that started in August 1980, actions of benefit to the renewal are now being undertaken in our country. The renewal has extended to many fields of life: old, compromised economic mechanisms have been overthrown, we wish to develop production relations differently and to structure contacts of the authorities and society, social relations and interpersonal relations differently. The economic reform that is taking place contains the nucleus of these changes, not only in the production sphere, but also in the sphere of the attitudes and behavior of individuals and entire groups. The reconstruction of the entire Polish reality, in which all of society is participating, is taking place practically right before our eyes.

It is readily perceived that education has been put on the back burner and remains in the shadow of the great transformations in this complex process. However, without an efficiently functioning school system, without the improved, modern organization of the school, the permanent, successful improvement of social reality is out of the question. Everything depends on people, on their awareness, their attitudes, their knowledge and the need to improve this reality. Consequently, not only should education be a part of all these changes, it should precede them, since its function, whether we like it or not, is always to prepare people for present and future professional and social roles. Education is that field of social life that is to prepare the future. This being the case, it must have as accurate a vision as possible of its own future and its own actions. This view was presented in a Sejm resolution dated 26 January 1982 that raises the issue of the reform.

Today many emergency measures favorable to education are being undertaken in the school system. What we are lacking, however, is clearly and concretely defined goals and tasks to give direction to the everyday work of thousands of schools, teachers, the school administration and academic employees. It is not enough merely to perfect the current school system to enable it to cope with contemporary requirements. Professor B. Suchodolski was right when he wrote in RZECZPOSPOLITA: "We are plagued with various shortages today. However--it is true, if unpopular--what we lack most today is not goods but ideas.

We are lacking in ideas for organizing the real life of the people. We should undertake efforts to define them. They should inspire human life in three large areas: in the field of work, in the area of human coexistence and in the sphere of culture broadly understood."

Ideas are also lacking in education. To be sure, it is not without blame in this--or rather, its many representatives are not without blame. Not all are convinced of the need for reform. To some degree, the unfavorable experiences of the 1970's cast a shadow on this issue. Most of society, pedagogues included, was not enamored of that reform and did not accept the 10-year school plan. The introduction of the 10-year school could not but arouse many justifiable reservations, since it was too hasty, too feverish and did not deal with realities.

The post-August process of the total negation of everything, not only mistakes and perversions, increased this aversion to all types of reform. Given these circumstances, many groups received the decision to withdraw the structural reform with enthusiasm as the abandonment of any intention to reform education.

This view still remains current, and today many people react petulantly to any proposal for change that attempts to deal with more than the business of the day. These people believe that the school should be left in peace, that it should cease being tyrannized with announcements of reform; that for the school system to be effective, it is enough for it to fulfill its daily obligations well.

This view is one of the more serious barriers standing in the way of changes in education today. It is more difficult to overcome than all of the many shortcomings of a material and organizational nature in the school system. For every endeavor to change reality can succeed if it finds acceptance among those implementing it, if they, the rank-and-file implementors identify with the role and concepts of reform.

Consequently, this barrier must be broken through in the social consciousness. Academic authorities play a major role in this, especially representatives of the pedagogical sciences. What is needed is not only a general awareness of the necessity of the renewal, of the restructuring of the school system, but also the conviction that our present educational system is obsolete and incapable of coping with the requirements of the times in which we live. It must be reformed, and reformed in such a way that it enters the mainstream of changes in the country affecting all fields of life and becomes a basic tool for getting us out of the crisis.

Not everyone is totally aware of this fact. Not everyone--and this is nothing new--associates the development of the country and its success with the development of education, with its effective operation.

The question arises: Where should we begin to make the basic changes to transform the Polish educational system into a thoroughly modern system that responds to the ambitions and aspirations of an educated society? What should be done to make this a system that is both adapted to current sociopolitical conditions

ans sees far into the future? What should be changed in the education and upbringing process to provide people with a greater sense of responsibility for work and production quality in self-governing enterprises? How should we train people to act innovatively, how should we teach cooperation and self-government and the use of rights and privileges, not their abuse? How are we to inculcate ideas of solid, honest work and coexistence among people, and, ultimately, how are we to prepare people to take part in their culture and to effect their own self-realization?

Although it will not be easy to answer these questions, we must try. Where shall we begin?

I believe that we should begin by casting off the stereotypical thinking that says the reform is a structure and programs. Discussions and solutions until now have all been encumbered with this mistaken idea. The result has been that they have concluded usually with the addition of a class, with a change in form and not content or the essence of the educational-upbringing process. Consequently, we should now guard against this error, excluding all discussion and action on the question of structure from the agenda. This is a less crucial issue that is secondary to the reform now underway. It is not a question of how many years we will train, but how we will be educated.

An honest, in-depth, objective analysis of the past should be the point of departure for considerations of the future makeup of education. Mistakes that were made in the past must be eliminated in the future. But there were also many undeniable achievements in the past; there were values that must be preserved. For example, there were values embodied in the educational ideal of a universal, timeless character, of relevance to us and still current.

This "remembrance of things past" carries an extremely valuable trump card: it means we need not begin our reform of education from zero. The foundation of our school system, although not free of shortcomings and afflictions, is nonetheless strong and affords the possibility of being renewed. This is very important, for it is in some measure a guarantee that attempts made to change things will succeed and can begin, not with haste, but fairly quickly.

Around what sort of tasks should these changes be concentrated? What problems in the reform program should be given priority treatment? Although there are many, I believe that several are the most important and mark out the route we are to follow.

First, we must make the educational system a just system, equally available to all young people at all educational levels. This is a basic principle of socialist schooling, raised to its fullest height in the concept of the 10-year school. Unfortunately, this idea has not succeeded; on the contrary, despite all attempts and a tremendous organizational effort, the 1970's were marked by the process of the further differentiation in the conditions offering the young their start. Our present system is glaringly unjust, for it gives young people from large cities a greater opportunity to move ahead through education, to the neglect of rural areas. It is enough to call to mind the statistics of the low index of peasant youth in higher schools, or the index of the social composition in liberal arts secondary schools. The machinery of socially negative

selection is in operation at the threshold of primary school, since not all children acquire a preschool preparation of equal value. Thus, in future concepts of reform we must remove the barriers jeopardizing an equal start for children from the educational road through all levels, from preschool up to the university. The questions of how to do this and what solutions are indispensable are questions to be answered at length.

Second, of equal importance is the question: What sort of person do we want to develop and for just what sort of reality, tasks and social roles? While a clearcut vision of upbringing goals does exist, we cannot limit ourselves to general statements alone. A more precise definition is needed of the sort of person and citizen we need and of the kinds of moral, professional and social values this person should possess in order for him to be happy and for others to live in harmony with him? What sort of man of our times do we wish to mold? This is an important question, since this man will implement the program of national renewal and social progress; he will direct the new economy. This person likewise will take active part in the political and social life of the country, he will have ambitions to participate broadly in culture. With what skills and competencies should he be endowed to fulfill these tasks? How should we train individuals in order to equip them not only with knowledge but with qualities of innovativeness and the skill to transform reality?

Third, the problems thus stated lead to questions concerning the level and quality of education more than the type of education. This is very likely one of the most important, most difficult problems to solve in contemporary schooling. It is difficult primarily because we must reorient ourselves to another style and to other methods of teaching-upbringing work. This means reorienting the thinking and action of teachers and breaking down stereotypes. The current school's methods are outdated. It functions primarily to reproduce knowledge, to commit it to memory. This is an ancient method of education, offering no guarantee of training a person to measure up to our times. This system does not inculcate independent thought and action and it does not form creative attitudes. Consequently, how are we to reorganize the didactic process to develop activism and independence, to teach problem solving and the conscious awareness of alternative behavior. Far-reaching changes must be made on content, programs and methods of education and upbringing. The question is, what sort of changes should these be in order for the principle of the multifaceted development of the student personality not to be merely theoretical?

Fourth, the trend toward universal secondary education is good. However, in the future reform concept, the character of this education should be defined precisely. Obviously, it is not a question of keeping students in school a year more or a year less, which was the crux of the argument over the 10-year school. It is to be another kind of education, conceived as a whole, for an entire generation of Poles. It is to be free from the errors of the present system, which establishes a dual system of education at the secondary level. We have two tracks, one bound by narrow professionalism and the other, a general verbal track, divorced from life and preparing one for nothing. It is high time to break away from this distinction of the better and the worse, from the "vocational track" and the "academic track," which is simply a solution with harmful consequences. Dualism in education serves to broaden the gap in opportunity for children from various social strata as they get their start in school.



The question of the character secondary education is to have and the categories into which it is to be divided to make it of equal value to all must be settled.

Fifth, the socialist school is to be a secular school, a school open to ideological dialogue. How necessary is it that its upbringing program be adapted both to the changed principles of the organization and functioning of the socialist state and to the pluralist character of Polish society? What should the principle of pluralism mean within the school?

Sixth, the school cannot operate in isolation from life, from its surroundings and from many institutions and organizations. It is not the only teaching-upbringing organization. Thus, a future concept of national education should be examined as a whole, in the broad context of the interdependence of the school system and the entire sector of extracurricular education--factories, institutions and organizations. The upbringing front will be mutual and effective if its every participant finds within it a concrete, clearly defined role for himself. The makeup of this mechanism of interdependence is a basic question.

On a somewhat different plane, the very formal contacts of the school and the community today must be enlivened. That is, community activity on behalf of and cooperation with the school must be activated. The plan to appoint social councils in education is a first step toward such solutions, but it should not be the only step. I believe that society must attain the right of control over education. However, there is the question of how to insure society this control without depriving the school of its right to autonomous pedagogical work. What model of contact between the school and the community, between the school and society, should be adopted to be of benefit to both sides?

Seventh, the system of educational management needs considerable revision. All measures taken in this sphere of operations should amount to placing schools on a system on self-government, on rank-and-file initiative. Conditions must be created granting teacher's groups great independence, enabling innovative, creative activity to be liberated. Here lies the secret of the qualitative regeneration of the school.

Eighth, it is the human being that determines the success of every endeavor, especially one so ambitious as reform. Thus, we must consider what sort of teacher we want in this school. It is a question not only of merit or ethical qualifications, but likewise (and perhaps primarily)--since this is a matter of great interest today--of the scope of the teacher's freedom, his right to independence in teaching-upbringing work and his right to introduce his own plans and ideas and to have a part in deciding the style of schoolwork.

We realize that we have not broached every problem to be considered in discussions of the future makeup of education. We have pointed out several problems that we feel are important enough to generate discussion. We strongly encourage all to engage in such discussion--representatives of the academic world, teachers, theoreticians and practitioners, social and political activists, representatives of management and of culture. Would that discussions of this kind were the beginning of work on the concept of reform, which we treat as the opportunity for renewal in education.



DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI'S FORMER WIFE INTERVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 May 82 p 11

[Interview with Wanda Wilkomirska by Dr Leonard von Leszczynski: "Turning Around and Going Away: This Was the Final Possible Protest—Wanda Wilkomirska About Her Emigration—Why Germany?—Bridges to Poland"]

[Text] Wanda Wilkomirska, a Polish violinist of world renown who was married to Deputy Premier Rakowski until 1981, has been living in the West since early this year. She granted the following interview in Wiesbaden prior to leaving on a concert tour of Australia.

[Question] When did you leave Poland ?

[Answer] I left Poland on 14 February, on Valentine's Day; but I had reached my decision earlier. When I left Poland I knew I would not come back. In the meantime, I have given a number of concerts—in Germany, in England, Ireland and in the United States.

[Question] How did you reach your decision to stay in the West and why do you wish to live in Germany or rather, in Wiesbaden ?

[Answer] The answer is self-evident because there is a state of war in Poland at present. It was too much. I had stopped identifying with my own country. It really was too much. Economic conditions might be bad; there might be queues in front of the stores; there might be other problems—still I would not leave my country. I am not responsible for the crisis Poland is now in. Every government puts the blame on every government that preceded it. But, all things considered, everyone is responsible for this situation. I am, too. We must bear the responsibility together: for the poor state of the economy, for the poor workmanship. We must accept the consequences for the fact that we were so well off in the early seventies. We were given licenses: Coca-Cola, Marlboro, our own homes and all the credits. I can accept the responsibility for that. But I cannot identify with what is going on in Poland now and what began on 12 December 1981. I am referring to the 12th because that was the day I arrived at Warsaw airport on my way back from Paris.

That morning, I had said goodbye to the West and returned to a country in which I would subsequently live for several weeks in a state of deep psychological depression. And that was the reason for my decision. Then there were the mass arrests of all my close friends—people who were arrested for no reason at all. I can understand criminals being arrested or real counter-revolutionaries. That is probably the same everywhere. I will always condemn the arrest of people whose political convictions differ from the official ones; or arrests because of strikes. At any rate, I left.

But I really was part of the struggle in Poland. I belonged to everything one should belong to. I signed all sorts of petitions and protests. But I knew even then that it was just a gesture that would have no bearing on events. It was a psychological gesture both for the government and for the oppressed. But it was important for a few people to get together who were not afraid and were willing to take the risk of being arrested. These few people knew that this gesture was important for those who were being held in the internment camps and who were thinking: "My God, is it all over already? Will we never again be able to carry our head high? Will fear and lies rule from now on?"

Over the past 1½ years, we had gotten used to such freedom of opinion that our papers became very, very interesting all of a sudden. And then, just as suddenly, we are seeing lies on the television screen and reading them in the newspapers which even those who are putting them out do not believe. The young soldiers in Polish uniforms are not occupiers wearing foreign uniforms. They are Polish soldiers, young Poles who are doing their military service which is something they cannot get out of. They might well be school chums of my sons or the sons of women I went to school with. I simply could not bear this atmosphere. My struggle at this time in my country prompted my decision to turn around and go away. It was the greatest decision I have made in my life. But I want to stress once again that I did not turn my back on my country but on the government.

My stay in Wiesbaden is an accident. I had very many offers. A friendly remark was recently made to me in Australia. Someone said that every country would be happy to offer citizenship to me. But what for? I do not intend to change my citizenship. I will remain a Pole. But there is always the possibility that things may suddenly change. At my age, one should never say "never" or "always."

The Germans are our closest neighbors. Germany is very close; its cultural life is similar to ours. But I feel at home everywhere. I am old cosmopolite. I do a lot of traveling, I speak many languages, I have many friends. Just now, I returned from a 3-week tour to America; tomorrow I will be going to Australia for 2 months. I have many friends there, too. I could work anywhere; I get offers from everywhere. But unfortunately these are mostly from different cultures. I am not referring to art or music; that is a language I can use wherever I go. But here in Germany everyday life is the same—the same eating habits, holidays, life in general that I have been used to since childhood.

In addition to that, the Germans are those who are most interested in what happens in Poland. Here in Germany, I can get the most news about Poland. There is far more news here than in the United States or in England for example. When I was in America recently, I myself was the biggest news from Poland. Here in Wiesbaden, I have asked the authorities to issue me an alien's passport. Wiesbaden is a very beautiful city. The pace is leisurely; there is no industry here and the air is good. My rheumatism has disappeared altogether. My European agent, Heiko Hermes, also makes his home here and at the moment, strangely enough, my son Artur and his family are also living here while waiting for their visas for Australia. He picked this city because most of our friends from Warsaw live here. He wrote to me that half of Saskia Kepa (a Warsaw residential district) was waiting for him at the Frankfurt railroad station when he arrived. Wiesbaden—that is important for me—is also close to Frankfurt which has the most functional airport in Europe. Those are some of the reasons why I am here.

[Question] Could your decision as well as that of your 24 year-old son Artur have a negative effect on the career of your former husband, Mieczyslaw Rakowski ? And what about your 28 year-old son Wlodzimierz ?

[Answer] Artur has been in Germany for a number of months and I for only two. As you can see, my husband still enjoys the confidence of his superiors. I do not see our decisions as having an adverse effect on my husband. That also applies to my entire family in Poland. It has not been discriminated against in any way. No one bears any responsibility for an adult who can make his own decisions. I thought about it a lot before. I did not want anyone to get in trouble because of me. I am very happy to see that this has not happened.

My son Wlodzimierz is in Spain at present; he has been studying foreign languages in Barcelona for the past 2 years. He carries a Polish passport and has not returned to Poland because he wants to finish his studies. He has great linguistic talent. At the moment, he is studying Chinese and Japanese; he already speaks six languages. He must make his own decision about returning to Poland. He has strong bonds to Poland.

[Question] How do you feel about the decisions your sons have made ?

[Answer] I fed the children, I took care of them when they were small. When they chose their professions, I did not pressure them. Maybe that was not right of me. My sons chose their own professions and the result has been disastrous. Wlodzimierz has a degree in sociology of which he never made any use. Artur studied journalism but will never be a working journalist. He found out very quickly that one has to write half the truth as a journalist or one must write things one does not want to write and one cannot write what one would like. Artur decided long ago to go to the West although he knew he would have to accept a lower station in life. He will have to do hard physical labor and start from scratch.

[Question] Are you still in touch with Rakowski ?

[Answer] We were officially divorced in May 1981. We are still on friendly terms. There is no reason for it to be otherwise. A marriage breaks up; it happens all over the world.

[Question] Who is at Mieczyslaw Rakowski's side now ?

[Answer] He has been together with Elzbieta Kempinska for a long time. As a matter of fact, she is a member of Solidarity, a talented actress and she used to be a close friend of mine.

[Question] Could you give a brief character portrait of Mieczyslaw Rakowski ?

[Answer] I must admit that the last few months have made me lose my self-possession. It now occurs to me that I did not know this man well at all. For years I thought he was not so terribly attached to his political career. During the past few years I got the feeling that this was not so.

He is a person with a leadership instinct—which is something one can neither buy, nor learn. He is a person who gathers people around him. He has great powers of conviction. This power often had an effect on me. Even as a young man—I married him when he was 25—he put this power of conviction of his to use. My family who had always been opposed to political conditions in Poland would often provide me with a whole string of arguments against him and his political attitudes. But when I later came home, still influenced by their talk, he would convince me with a single telling argument. There is something about him that convinces people which is very important for a politician. He is very skillful in adapting to conditions favorable to him. For this reason he also changes friends often.

[Question] You come from a family belonging to the old Polish nobility. Had there been evidence of artistic talent in your family before ?

[Answer] On my father's side there is a tradition of artistic talent. Alfred Wilkomirski, my father, was a violinist responsible for two generations of musicians. Karzimierz, Maria and Michal, who are children from his first marriage, are all well-known professional musicians. When my father was widowed, he married for a second time. My mother had been his pupil. If one goes back further, one finds a few artists in my family, a few generals, a marshal and so on.

My father prepared me intensively for a musical career. I had to learn languages; I had to play the piano; I had to dance. As a young girl, I was busier than busy. From childhood, my father forced me to practice for hours. I wanted to spare my own children all that. I wanted them to play soccer, to ride horses and that provided them with a happy childhood.

[Question] You are a world famous violinist. For years, you have been working continuously. You have played on all five continents. How many concerts have you given in all ?

[Answer] Since 1960 I have kept a diary where I have entered all my concerts. I have noted down the date, the city, the program and the dress I wore. Don't make such a funny face. No one wants to see an artist twice in the same dress. I also put down the partner I played with and the pieces I played as encores. I am sorry to say I left these notes behind in Warsaw. I bought a new notebook here. Since February, I have given nine concerts and have had one recording session. In Australia, I will give 28 concerts. So you can see how many dresses I must take along.

I can just about guess how many concerts I have given thus far altogether. The first concert with an orchestra in a large hall I gave in 1945. For 32 years, I have been giving concerts—the most in one year were 163. Normally, I give 80 concerts a year. I would say I have given about 2,500 all in all. You say that I am a workhorse; but it is important to prepare a new repertoire and to take part in competitions. In Poland, for example, I never turned down an engagement, even in small towns or villages. Now I have had to send many letters of cancellation to Poland. I wanted the people to hear from me personally why I was not coming.

I think this is the way it must be done. I will surely have an opportunity to play in Poland again some day. Many Polish artists have stayed here in the West and have then returned to Poland in triumph. I do not want to burn my bridges behind me. Poland is my homeland which I love. I know, if they let me in—and they will certainly let me in but it will be more difficult to get out again—I will stand there before my public and my public and I will stand there for a long time and we will all cry. That is how it is going to be.

[Question] What are your plans for the coming year ? I have heard it said that you will turn to teaching.

[Answer] At present, I am living in a hotel out of my suitcase. I have one suitcase in Wiesbaden and another in London. After I come back from Australia, I will stay in Wiesbaden for 10 days and then give a benefit concert in Frankfurt. Then I will get a visa and go to Paris for 2 weeks. I have been invited to participate as a member of the jury in the Menuhin competition. Then I will fly to Canada where I will take part in a competition at Ottawa. And then I may be fortunate enough to return to Wiesbaden for a few days before flying to Australia again for a few concerts and a competition in Adelaide. In September, I will be here in Wiesbaden to get settled and hang all my dresses into the closet. In November will be the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karol Szymanowski and I will give four concerts with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington in his honor. After that, there are a few concerts in Switzerland and that is it. Here in Germany, I have been offered a professorship at a music academy—the kind of offer I did not accept until now. But now I will probably take it.



[Question] You are going to give a charity concert in Frankfurt on 6 June the proceeds of which will go for the purchase of baby food and medicines for a children's hospital in Gdansk. This project has the support of Hilmar Hoffmann, the head of the Frankfurt cultural department; the director of the opera, Vitali and of Siegfried Mannhardt, a Frankfurt businessman. What are your reasons for taking part ?

[Answer] Your question is a bit childish. If someone came to me and asked me to contribute DM 50,000, I would not do so because I don't have the money. But if I can contribute my talents and if the money is raised in this way, then I will do it of course. The Polish children really need help and medical supplies. Every bit of medicine is worth its weight in gold in Poland.

At this point I would like to say with great emotion that I am delighted with the German people (no, strike that—just say: the Germans) for helping the Poles. This goes beyond all imagination. The thousands of packages being sent from Germany to Poland and the fact that the postal department does not charge for them—those are very significant matters. That one will not forget for a long time to come—just as long as one cannot forget the horrible things that happened in the past. This generation is doing a great deal to expunge the memory of what the other generation did. And if I am now frequently asked why I live in Germany, I say that I do because that is the way it is here now.

[Question] Can we come back to politics. What do you think of the political and economic situation in Poland ? What chances are there of overcoming the problems ?

[Answer] I don't know; I am not a politician, I am a violinist. If I did know, I would stay in Poland and do something. But I really don't know. We are in debt to everyone and as poor as churchmice. We have no reserves any more. The simplest thing would be for the people to start working and producing again. But you need materials for that. The Polish people are not properly fed; there is not enough fat, meat, sugar and vitamins. The people are weak and tire easily. There is not enough energy; all winter, we froze. Transportation is in a terrible state. One cannot buy any shoes. The shoemakers are not working because they cannot get leather. It is a vicious circle. I don't know how one could help. But I do know we cannot be saved by cancelling our debts or if some billionaire said he had paid them all for us. But none of our creditors will do that because none has any sympathy for the people who are running the country now. But then why should our creditors support the government ? After all, no one can support a government that is in a state of war against its own people.

[Question] What is your comment on the emigration of many intellectuals from Poland ?

[Answer] There is a tradition in that. In difficult times, our culture used to blossom abroad. I don't want to draw any analogies but I would just re-

mind you of Chopin, Mickiewicz and others. No one voluntarily leaves his country and goes into exile. Every Pole wants to live in a street where everyone else speaks Polish. He wants to live among people who have sung the same songs he did in kindergarten. But I can really understand the people who do leave. Writers cannot publish what they have written; composers could do as they pleased until now; they could experiment and take part in competitions. These people will probably leave now. Other artists, like film director Andrzej Wajda for example, may go back because where else would they have such opportunities as in their own country ?

To get back to the composers once more. They are not badly off because where else would they get paid in advance for a piece they have not even written as yet. The writers are worst off. What do they do ? They do their writing in Poland and get published abroad. Unfortunately many intellectuals have to sign loyalty declarations now. Many things are banned. This piece is not being performed and that piece is not published. One can imagine that this will lead to an exodus.

[Question] Under what conditions would you return to Poland ?

[Answer] Several conditions would have to be satisfied. The first would be a change in the system. But I don't know whether democracy is a real possibility under Polish conditions. I don't think my generation will still live to see it happen. As far as going to Poland is concerned, I would have to be sure of getting out again. If that were the case, I would buy a ticket for Warsaw right away.

9478

CSO: 2300/268



BARCIKOWSKI MEETS WITH YOUTH GROUP LEADERS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 Apr 82 pp 1,2

[Article by Jozef Szewczyk: "The Most Important Thing Is What We Do Ourselves"]

[Text] On 7 April, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], met in Warsaw with the leaders of the following youth organizations: the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. Stanislaw Gabrielski, the head of the Social and Professional Faculty of the PZPR Central Committee, also participated in the meeting.

The meeting was devoted to preparations for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the subject of which will be the problems of youth. Stanislaw Gabrielski reported on the work done so far in connection with the preparations for the plenum. Among other things, he stated that the theses for the basic documents, which are now coordinated with the party aktif, had been drawn up. The most important task of the plenum will be to formulate a plan of action for resolving the problems of the younger generation, taking into account the country's present sociopolitical conditions.

The plenum should also provide an answer to the following questions:

- what the state of awareness of youth is like, the causes and governing factors of this state, and the role of the youth movement in the process of educating young people;
- what methods can be used to revive the ideological life of young people, youth organizations, and institutions for ideological and moral education;
- how to make it possible for young people to take action so that they can resolve their own problems by themselves;
- what the conditions for the intellectual development of young people are like;

-- how to make organized work into a social philosophy, in accordance with the line of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

The statements by the leaders of the unions focused on the current problems of their members and the expectations of young people. Here are the most important excerpts from their presentations:

Andrzej Ornat, the commander-in-chief of the ZHP: After the imposition of martial law, our impression is that the organization has become more cohesive. Even the actions to assist flood victims were proof of this.

There was not any verification [of people's political views] in the union, just talks and discussions, in the course of which we managed to win many undecided people over to our side. There are still many such undecided people, however, especially among teachers, who make up a considerable portion of the staff of instructors. Our task, together with the primary party organizations [POP] in the schools, is to win them over both for the ZHP and the PZPR.

Today young people are much more willing to discuss the major problems. They are also much more willing to undertake representation of their group. The discussion during the second National Senior Scout Jamboree particularly demonstrated this.

We have especially occupied ourselves with rural youth, which is over 50 percent of our membership. A great deal needs to be done to equalize their start in life.

Among young people we observe a longing for moral purity, and a need for work on improving human nature, and legal activities.

In preparing for the summer campaign, we are hoping to reach as many young people as possible. We are also counting on receiving assistance from the political education centers of the voivodship committees.

We also want to devote more attention to the increasing alienation of youth, as until now this has been a "no man's land."

Jerzy Jaskiernia, the chairman of the ZSMP Main Board: In spite of the difficult conditions, our organization is carrying out the tasks designated at the Third Extraordinary Congress. A question, however, arises--how to present our interests to the government, and what we should do for ourselves, so that the union is not just the spokesman for the social interests of young people. Youth commissions have been created under the Planning Commission. It is not known why they are exactly the way they are and why there are so many of them. We are going back to the idea of forming a Council of Ministers Youth Committee, in the forum of which it would be possible to coordinate a great deal of work.

The Ninth Plenum is giving rise to hope, but also to a certain risk. [It is giving rise to] hope because young people expect the PZPR to come forward with a realistic government program, and also to define the tasks for young people.

Young people are waiting for indications of a solution to the matters most important to them, not on the basis of the slogan of "another Poland," but rather a realistic assessment of the possibilities.

The risk is connected with the fact that in some cases voivodship committee plenums devoted to youth are held without proper preparation. If a government plan of action is to be prepared, then social consultation is necessary, and there is not much time left.

Like the ZHP, we are treating the summer campaign as a chance to reach large numbers of young people. On this occasion the problem of "social coverage" arises. In chasing after profits, enterprises stop occupying themselves with such matters as vacations, sports, and culture.

We are likewise disturbed by the attitude of the party toward the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth], since the existence of an organization with that name disowns the communists active in the ZSMP, the ZHP, the ZMW, and the SZSP.

Waldemar Swirgon, the chairman of the ZMW National Board: We have to start a discussion of youth by defining class, group, and milieu interests. In some cases we take the discussion up to the level of the entire generation, and then arguing about youth is fruitless.

We are concentrating our activity on the unproductive work of young farmers. Every crisis is characterized by the fact that the stronger ones protect themselves more effectively, while the poorer ones rapidly become poorer. In the situation of self-financing service institutions in the village, the cultural and athletic activity that was financed by the village is dying out.

Our ideology is clear--socialism; and our program is positivistic labor. It is not easy to carry it out, however. For example, we organized numerous groups of farmers for training with modern machines at WOPRs [Voivodship Centers for Agricultural Progress], but even getting fuel for those courses is very difficult. The same thing has happened with machines for young farmers' societies. First of all, the managers have to take care of the contracts associated with the sale.

Before the plenum, we would like to point out many things that are very important for our young people. The cultural and creative movement requires our attention, and not just ours. Its development is the basis for the democratization of national culture. [As for] education--we are developing preparatory courses, and we want to participate in the building of schools with dormitories. We would like to go back to the idea of a traveling film theater.

In regard to the model for the youth movement, I repeat the position of the ZMQ--we are in favor of the creation of noninstitutional forms of cooperation among youth unions. This is necessary so that the ZSMP and the ZMW do not go along opposing lines. The idea of creating a Council of Ministers Youth Committee has been accompanied by too many mistakes, and an attempt has been made to impose its creation on the nation and the rest of the organizations.

Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Supreme Council of the SZSP: "One cannot speak about the goals of the SZSP without an assessment of the situation in the academic environment. The pluralism of world views, ideology and politics, and the so-called internal emigration, are hidden today. Likewise, the lack of acceptance of socialism has been hidden, along with the lack of motivation for studies, associated with the difficult employment situation. These are facts, however.

After the 3-month suspension, we have set ourselves the goal of initiating social and intellectual activity in our milieu: a discussion of the role and place of the young intelligentsia (and not just the young ones), and how to restore the educational function of the university. In particular, the problem of employment arouses emotions--the free labor market especially arouses concern, for understandable reasons. We want to participate in a discussion of this subject.

We are taking the joint responsibility for representing our milieu, but the party has to take care of the coordination of the youth movement at the universities. At this time, the rectors do this too often.

The presence in the academic environment of the ZHP, AMW, and recently the ZSMP is useful, provided that it does not become a battle for influence at the expense of other organizations. I observe this with concern and warn that things are going to go wrong wherever a battle for influence begins."

Statement by K. Barcikowski

Summing up the statements, K. Barcikowski focused on several basic problems.

Economic reform: "Not everyone appreciates the extent of the economic crisis in Poland. Everything indicates that economic performance in March will not be any better than in February. The decline in national income has continued for 4 years. The price increases did not cause the decline in the standard of living. They only revealed it. It is [only] possible to attain a market equilibrium through increased production and more realistic prices. At present both operations are being implemented. In this situation we should give priority to maintaining wages at the expense of social affairs. Compensation for labor has to be the object of special expenditure by enterprises. Social expenditures have to be approached carefully and rigorously. Instead, the main emphasis in the near future is to be put on straightening out the system of wages, in order to satisfy those who work well and hard.

If the youth unions conclude that the reform is objectionable to them, they will find support from many people. On the other hand, however, the reform has to carry out a task, and it has to set greater demands. Enterprises must therefore also concentrate on the basic task, production, and not occupy themselves with many other affairs. An establishment can utilize its funds for different purposes. If something stands in the way, youth should have a decisive influence on it.

Employment: Last year 750,000 people were shifted over to retirement pensions and educational grants, and 400,000 young people were employed. This year the situation with new job openings will be worse. Young people must know,

however, that we will either shout and sink deeper into the crisis, or start to work. If we manage to organize an authentic movement of engineers and scientists to adapt Polish raw materials for the needs of industry, we will rapidly break down the barriers of the crisis.

The nature of the plenum: It has to be of a political nature. The ideology of the party has not changed; conditions have changed. The younger generations are coming out into the world, while the political battle is continuing. How are we to oppose the activities of hostile powers, such as the United States, which are counting on Polish romanticism, a tradition of conspiracy, and young people's excitement with such matters? For the time being we have to deal with a small number of cases of illegal activity, but 90 percent of these individuals are people under 30. This is an acute problem, especially for activists among young people; and there is no other way out except a political battle for these young people, not through the medium of the television, but through one's presence among young people, in conversations and examples.

The youth movement: We should not mechanically divide up spheres of influence for individual organizations. There will be a battle among the organizations whenever the interests of the leaders gain the upper hand. This would be absurd. It is the leaders that are fighting, not the organizations, and we will either be sensible leaders and resist irritations, or we will hurt each other. In regard to the Council of Ministers Youth Committee, you have to coordinate your positions yourselves.

The Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP]: It would be good if the organizations were to make their positions in this matter known. There is no need to create a new organization, but not much is gained by prohibitions. The best thing would be to win these people over to the existing organizations.

In conclusion, K. Barcikowski stated that we are all interested in whether the plenum will yield measurable results. The most important thing, however, will be what we do, both before the plenum and after it.

9909

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PLACE, ROLE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE ENTERPRISE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 43-44

[Article by Vasile Burtea, sociologist at the Brasov Construction Trust]

[Text] The discussions inaugurated in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12/1981 in which mainly sociologists from higher education and research institutes participated are the occasion for directing attention also to the sociologists in the industrial enterprises. This "category" is large enough to become the subject (and object) of reflection, the subject of opinions and explanations connected with their participation and contribution to the better life of each of the enterprises to which they were assigned as well as the position of the leadership factors in the particular units toward the specific nature of sociological activity and to increase the contribution and efficiency of the sociologists' work.

These opinions are based on the experience accumulated daily, from the summer of 1974 until the present, by me and colleagues assigned to several of the large Brasov enterprises, with direct production activity, with numerous worker personnel and with similar sociological problems. For the most part, this article is the product of our discussions and concerns, the product of the common desire to become as useful as possible in our jobs and to put into practice everything we have accumulated through our years of study.

A first problem raised even when a sociologist arrives at an enterprise, a problem which also confronted us, is that the new graduate of college does not meet one "initiate" at the place he was assigned to consult with, from whom to ask help in professional problems, since he is the only employee specializing in sociology. As T. Herseni remarked in his work "The Plant Laboratory," when an engineer arrives at an enterprise he finds other engineers with experience, persons who know the unit and its problems well, a foreman finds foremen, a technician may consult with other technicians, and an economist can enjoy the help of other economists. These "older" employees are an invaluable aid in the young graduate's professional problems and true integrating factors who facilitate his "access" to the integrated and documented life in the enterprise.

But, for the time being, the sociologists cannot enjoy anything like this. Not having predecessors and with no tradition for this activity having existed in the enterprise, many times he does not know what is required of him, what should be done or how to be used.

Of course, in order to "make room for" the profession they are serving, a good many sociologists in the enterprises have proposed (and many have succeeded) to be concerned with problems of strict utility, with immediate application (even rejecting the specifically sociological approach), problems which viewed and interpreted otherwise could be expressed as follows: What methods should be utilized so that one leu spent by the enterprise returns at least 1.05 lei in value or does not return in a smaller value. And yet, their research reports remain in the archives, drawers or files. Why? For the same reasons that an invention or innovation with immediate and much more "palpable" healthy effects has the same fate. (The sociologist, just as the inventor, brings what is new even; in the case of the former it is a matter most times of a new view.)

The results of this situation? The "marginalization" of sociologists in the enterprises and discrediting of the sociologist before the requirements of practice.

There cannot be just one explanation.

The first--and the one with the most substance--explanation for such situations is the status or, more correctly, the lack of status of the sociologist in general and the sociologist in the enterprise in particular--the lack which places the sociologist in the position of "accepted," "tolerated," "indulged." The problem does not represent a secondary, derived aspect but rather, as A.D. Rachieru notes (ERA SOCIALISTA No 16/1981), it is a crucial point. The discussion on sociology without bearing sociologists in mind is headed for failure. The man makes the place holy; so, too, the sociologist with sociology. But not just that. Having the decision-making factors establish the job duties and placing the "call to order" of the sociologists is directly linked with the existence of a status in the job, by which one knows what a sociologist can do and what he cannot, what should be offered to him or refused him, when it is recommended to ask something of him and when it is not.

The lack of experience in this area would be a second explanation but also the mistaken orientation of the specialists (sociologists and psychologists) who are concerned with advanced and retraining of leadership personnel in the production units is another explanation. Hours of sociology and psychology, which, used appropriately, would be of real use both to the leadership personnel as well as to us, the practicing sociologists, are concerned for these courses (by which a portion of the gap left by the lack of status could be filled). For the time being, in these hours, instead of dwelling on the way of utilization and manner of collaboration with the sociologists and psychologists in the enterprises, the ambition is to make sociologists and psychologists out of the directors and heads of jobs participating in these courses--a desirable doomed to failure or distortion, being neither possible or useful, since the persons attending the courses have neither the interest or the time necessary for such performances.

A fourth explanation for the "marginal" position of the sociologist in the enterprise is the critical manner in which the research reports are presented. The idea that this mode of presentation does not represent the sociologist's



"choice" to "injure" persons or jobs gains ground with difficulty. Criticism is not merely the sociologist's job (unanimously recognized), but it is also a working tool for the sociologist, a way of relating to phenomena and disfunctional realities (which have "priority" in the sociologist's view) and not to persons or jobs.

Other explanations (and not of the least importance) are the waste of forces brought by the option of assigning one or two sociologists to an enterprise, an aspect correctly noted by Catalin Zamfir in ERA SOCIALISTA No 18/1981. The existence of county sociology centers (groups) (particularly now, since practicing sociologists have been "baptized" in the enterprise) is a fruitful option, but not in order to become "methodological centers" for guidance or coordination (as was suggested several times), because these kinds of "jobs" are held and can be given to existing sociological research institutes and centers. A county sociology center, first, would still have to have duties for research into the enterprise's problems but from positions of relative methodological independence carried out in a broader command which also would have the guarantee of carrying them out even in a restrictive view, somehow outside the collectivity investigated.

But this is an option and the present confronts us with sociologists spread out through the enterprises and with problems of integration and efficiency at this level.

Few of those working in the enterprise, among which are also the leadership cadres, can accept the fact that the sociologist, in order for him to be able to carry out his activity, needs (like any other worker) a minimum of materials which are his working "tools." The whole world accepts the fact that any engineer (or somebody else, in another profession) in order to build a machine, a building, a dam and so forth needs a labor force, machinery, materials, tools, without which the job cannot be done. What is more, if one of the components is missing, fulfillment of the task is much harder or impossible, while, with regard to the sociologist, the belief exists that his simple presence should urgently solve all the problems confronting the enterprise for a long time, and if the sociologist does not solve them he is not competent.

One should not lose sight of the fact that a sociologist is nothing more than a person and cannot do anything more than any other worker with similar level of training. Given the greater and greater complexity which work in any sector of activity is taking on, it is getting harder and harder and is occurring less and less frequently for one single person to produce innovative changes in an area. And if this happens, it still is produced after many years of work, of attempts and errors, of achievements and failures.

The sociologist's work should be an organic part of other people's work (keeping its specific nature) in order to contribute to better operation of the whole. The view of or approach to sociologists' activity from "extraordinary" positions is harmful. The results of the sociological labor should be presented periodically to the technical leadership collective of the enterprise or the worker's council by the particular sociologist and not mediated. This is in order to gain knowledge of the weaker or inadequate aspects of his labor and in order to

give all the advice connected with the concept according to which the conclusions and solutions presented were obtained.

Immediate practical application of the proposals and recommendations made is the condition sine qua non for sociological research at the enterprise level. Putting them in a drawer and forgetting them and delaying mean nothing more than dissatisfaction with the person who strove to obtain them, a lack of faith and higher costs.

Counselling work to aid the leadership collective in making decisions should be the true role for a sociologist and it should answer a social order coming from the enterprise's executive organs.

For any of the methods, the sociologist must have available a solid baggage of information which is correct and recent on the problem taken in the study (and study problems are not just the ones which are improperly called "strictly social" ones, but also technical ones which also include a social aspect). For this it is necessary for him to be informed directly from the source, and not mediated. Knowledge of the problems connected with the stage of plan fulfillment, the situation of material-technical supplies, the need for a labor force (quantitative and qualitative), working jobs with a higher degree of danger and crucial problems of the enterprise and of the workers is imperative. In this regard, the sociologists' participation (not necessarily with a right to vote but as careful and concerned observers) in the worker's council meetings and in other meetings, trade union group meetings, where similar problems are posed, without adding the assiduous presence "in the field," in the sections, shops, job sites and work points is needed, since it means nothing more than knowledge of all the "headache" points and all the shortcomings which require a channeling of the attention and available energies for their solution and to which the sociologist can (and should) make their contribution.

An efficient way to utilize the results of a sociologist's work is their detailed discussion and analysis in the collective with a view to selecting the conclusions which can be applied immediately and establishing the future methodological steps depending on specific possibilities and requirements. Once this has been established, the immediate application of the decisions must be the necessary next step. Only in this way can this work become possible and useful.

Rejecting a priori or passively listening to material cited leads to passivity and a rut, blurring the searches for new solutions and reformulations of the problems.

Another aspect on which we should dwell is the ratio between the number of sociologists in an enterprise and total worker personnel. We know that just the big enterprises have sociologists available, ones with large numbers of worker personnel, most of the time with just one sociologist existing. When a problem requiring rapid solution appears, the work of a single person proves to be inefficient, because the social problems in the enterprises should be solved promptly with regard to all aspects. How could such an enterprise carry out its activity with just one engineer, one foreman, one technician, one economist?

Of course, it is not recommended or possible for the number of sociologists and psychologists to equal the number of those mentioned, but a group of four-six sociologists in one enterprise would carry out much more efficient activity.

From this article we should not understand that clemency and acceptance are being requested for an inefficient sociology and sociologists with a correct orientation but, on the contrary, that for the productivity of their activity the sociologists need the help of the collectives in the enterprises they are part of and, in particular, the leadership organs with executive power.

This help should not mean anything more than the request, collaboration, collective work and possibilities for rapid and exact information.

8071

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FORMATIVE, EDUCATIONAL VALUES IN CONTEMPORARY DRAGATURGY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 29-31

[Article by Mircea Ghitulescu]

[Text] There is a specific nature to the reception of dramatic literature compared with literature to be read (which, of course, disappears when the play is read) and which decisively affects the pedagogical reserves of the two types of reception. Because the reception of reading literature has a confidential nature, while dramatic literature--intended most often for a reception mediated by the theatrical play--is a group, public reception. This fact operates nearly automatically for many dramatic authors (one speaks of authors who hear the public's applause while they are writing their play), emphasizing the public trend of the dramatic work even while on the playwright's writing table.

These summary statements seemed necessary to us before asserting that dramatic literature can be much more sensitive to what is understood by "social order" than other literature genres, which, again, explains why in our literature since 1950 no other genre of art has answered more diligently the pedagogic and direct propagandistic needs connected with such diverse aspects of the process of carrying out the socialist revolution in Romania.

More than poetry or prose and perhaps also due to the authority in the era of realism of reflection, dramatic literature in these years has answered almost all the practical problems which have confronted Romanian society in the first years of the socialist revolution, whether it was a matter of dramas of option, of theoretical clarification as in H. Lovinescu's "Smashed Citadel" or Titus Popovici's "Passacaglia, of the optimist tragedies of attachment to the cause of communism, as in Al. Voitin's trilogy "Men in Struggle," of the heroism and sacrifice for defending the revolutionary achievements in the industrial age, "Fortress of Fire" by Mihail Davidoglu, of the rural drama grafted to the preference for a problem connected with the cooperativization of agriculture (as in "Vlaicu and His Boys" by Lucia Demetrius or, later in "The Stake" by Theodor Manescu), about the nationalization of the means of production or the movement of inventions and innovations as in the comedies of Aurel Baranga, included in the metaphorical level of dislocation of an old world and mentality, without avoiding individual drama interpreted constructively on ethical and social backgrounds ("Simple Coincidences" by Paul Everac), dramas of creation "The Death of an Artist" by Horia Lovinescu), going up to detailed conflicts of the

organization of social life, from the need for qualified cadres in Dobrogea ("Fevers" by Horia Lovinescu) or in the rural environment ("Siciliana" by Aurel Baranga) up to the problematics of certain defects in evaluating man's value in the process of work and life, as in Paul Everac's "Unseen Staff" or other, more recent plays.

What impresses the researcher of the pioneering years of our dramatic literature is the authors' effort to keep the broadest portions from the Romanian revolutionary process in full development in their plays, the effort to discover the contradictions, the specific conflicting states, to fix and preserve the current nature, with its rapid movements and unforeseeable changes in the genre of drama and comedy, which basically equals a daring attempt to establish a new dramaturgy. Without making a final break with dramaturgy between the two world wars, which neither would have been possible because, on one hand, it would mean the utopian interrupting of a spiritual tradition and, on the other hand, because many of the writers between the two world wars (Lucian Blaga, Camil Petrescu, Mircea Stefanescu, Tudor Musatescu) are continuing their activity, building formal models and influencing the writing of the age. It was a question of setting up a specific thematology, new types of conflicts, dramatic situations and characters and, truly, a number of innovative procedures can be attributed to the authors who illustrated this age of pioneering of our dramaturgy, procedures then taken over, developed, given nuances, processed by following generations concerned with achieving other aesthetic heights. The typologic varieties from the series of the positive hero (the communist struggling in illegality against fascism or in the full socialist revolution, the party or trade union activist, the UTC members, heads of enterprises devoted to their profession, the incorruptible victors in bureaucratic conflicts) as well as the new conflicts, most in the hero register (the representation in various forms of the class struggle, from violent confrontations to eliminate any opposition up to the principled tensions between old and new, the collapse of old mentalities and systems of values, the recovery of certain recent errors now)--all these presented in appropriate dramatic situations in the new dramatic settings (the job site, the plant, the offices) are merely several of these innovations.

Socialist realism, which substantiated the new dramaturgy as an aesthetic principle, was basically a neoromanticism (especially through those energetic, unyielding and altruistic heroes). A neoromanticism as a type of sensitivity and an optimistic realism of reflection as a means of expression. Through the best examples, this literature of the "directed reflection" succeeded even from the start to impose lasting works but, through mimicry he brought typological and conflicting cliches which no longer corresponded, except through the convention of the true sense of reflection, becoming plays which reflected other plays.

One of the playwrights who succeeded--of course, in an original way--in composing a nearly complete thematic and typologic collection of the trends of Romanian dramaturgy in the 50's and 60's, in an impressively diffused work, is Paul Everac, prestigious author exactly in the area of the possibilities for dramaturgy of recording "daily" problems of a social community.

The constructive trend and optimism diffused at the philosophical and social level sometimes were demonstrated in a deformed way, especially in the cases of "mass" dramatic literature through an abstract mechanism of the good general intentions which made any discussion of the dramatic conflict useless, with its being replaced with a pretextual, finalized misunderstanding that was well-intended. Plays appeared which lacked even this misunderstanding which was substituted for the true conflict, more appropriate as reporting than as stable literary architecture, with an unforgettable example being Corneliu Marcu's work entitled "A Personality for the Contest."

For the authors of the middle generation of modern dramatic literature, the problem was sharply posed of artistically solving the reflection of positive categories established in social and private life. Among these, Paul Everac is the most inventive in creating "positive conflicts," having available a special art of problematization. The activist's motive, in order to give an example, taken from the prior generation, is colored by affective details beyond the theoretical geometry of codes, whether it is a question of Vlasceanu in "Simple Coincidences" or of Mirea in "The Fifth Swan." Other authors sought an original road, discovering in "sentimentalization" of some principles which seemed barren at first sight the road to authenticity. First, we think of Maria's tragedy in D. R. Popescu's "Osteologic Study," in which the well-known dramatic situation of the tortured communist is haloed by the tragic meditation on death and birth specific to the author. Professor Rebedea in "The Manager" by Al. Sever arrives at at least a theoretical understanding of revolutionary and active altruism through repressed sentimentalism, with antifascist insurgence coming in the picture, a seductive one, of a girl followed by Certainty. Theodor Manescu optimizes sentimental conflicts, projecting them against social-ethical backgrounds ("The Sunken City").

Seeking the road toward authenticity in representation of positive categories, dramatists of the middle generation discovered that the great desirables and principles, those so-called "slogans," are actually concentrated truths worn out by too much use, having become slogan through abuse and literary insufficiency.

In the continually firmer path of modern dramatic literature, we should note the aspiration toward reflexive attitude, which was not lacking in the 50's-60's, particularly through Horia Lovinescu, a playwright whose work faces us with a significance alternating between traditional drama ("The Smashed Citadel," "The Death of an Artist," "Petru Rares") and the formulas from the "latest hour" of modern dramaturgy, existentialist or absurd ("The Place of Life and Death in the Desert of Ash," "The Inn at the Crossroads," "The Man who Lost His Kindness") in a severe play of uneasy classicism made by its own balance. The transition personality between classic and modern, Horia Lovinescu opened the way to some new aesthetic experiences in the direction of the drama of the human condition just as, later, Teodor Mazilu, who developed the fashion of the tragic farce in his "atrocious" satires in such an original way.

In its premiere, the Romanian theater of the absurd in the 70's proposed to change the traditionalist-monotonous appearance of our dramaturgy and to give it a reflexive, if not even philosophical aspect. Although it remained a late form, borrowed from Europe, it still was a good lesson for many contemporary

authors: D. R. Popescu, Marin Sorescu, D. Solomon, Ion Baiesu, Vasile Rebreanu, P. C. Chitic. In exceptional cases, our theater of the absurd even succeeded in overcoming models and in imposing several lasting works: "Caesar, Buffoon of the Pirates" and "Forest With Wood Peas" by D. R. Popescu, "Iona" and "The Sexton" by Marin Sorescu, "Chitimia" and "Forgiveness" by Ion Baiesu and other reference works for our dramaturgy.

In seeking a balance between the theater formulas of foreign inspiration, traditional and experimental inspiration, today it is remarkable to have concern with deepening individual problems. In a long list of plays resulting from the authors' desire to contribute to the formation of the new man, a connection specific to modern Romanian society succeeded with the literature of the human condition of the 20th century. Formally, in most cases, it is a dramaturgy of the "Meter Reader," as Paul Everac says, a dramaturgy which makes ethical and existentialist balances and tells us of the hero's unease against the background of conflicts of self-improvement.

There are very few authors who have not made their contribution in this area, in various absurd-metaphorical formulas (D. R. Popescu: "The Balcony", "Prayer for a Disc Jockey," "The Shakespeare Bird" and so forth); hypothetic-realistic and delirious (Paul Everac: "The Meter Reader," "A Moth on the Lamp," "The Fifth Swam"; Horia Lovinescu: "Autobiography"); legendary-historical (Marin Sorescu, who meditates on the social improvement through a historical metaphor in "The Third Stake") or the comic-absurd (Tudor Popescu).

Of course, in these "problematic" plays, too, the positive categories and the eulogy are clearly included in a reflexive manner: the eulogy of history and the people who currently make history, the eulogy for the people worried by the improvement of society and the individual; but in these plays are present international uncertainties, social insecurity of a humanist and austere society; troubling uncertainty with the cosmos, with the violent contrasts in the world and man's pride in belonging to a national collectivity. In the latter, the eulogy is made of the creative talent of our people, of their heroism of their hard work but also an approach to the problems of world interest because the dramatic characters today cannot be an abstract sign of a human being with all the mysteries freed, with all the questions exhausted, which do nothing more than insure well being and comfort each day, but is doubled by the social and historical being of eternal man, of the interrogative being who, as he receives answers to his social, historical, and philosophical questions, discovers other enigmatic territories of his presence in the universe.

Contemporary Romanian dramaturgy, in its continually more conclusive attempt to cover the most varied areas of human experience and knowledge, has not omitted this problem, either.

In a value series, no matter how exacting, there cannot be a lack of a number of actual historical dramas, such as the cycle of Vlad Tepes by Marin Sorescu, incursions into a tragic legendary universe in "The Decapitation" or "The Leordinates" by Al. Sever, just as one cannot omit the plays in D. Solomon's ancient trilogy, the serious meditations and parables of D. R. Popescu grafted on the social equity and dignity, the polemic compositions which do not permit dogmas and prefabricated truths which would be substituted for the truth and order of life,



or the parables of social, religious and cosmic insurgence from Suto Andras' trilogy ("A Flag on the Stake," "The Flowers of a Horse Thief," "Cain and Abel"), each of them being important contributions to Romanian artistic thought on themes of universal circulation.

Also, the aspiration of Romanian dramatists to become European writers or writers of the world (often demonstrated by a late attempt to get into synchronization with the European literary fashion) is, in the area of drama, more and more competitive and, without intending to set up a hierarchy or even just a list which is as complete as possible, we should note the tendency to explore certain themes of broader interest, international interest, let us say, in "The Old Engineer" by Al. Sever or Paul Cornel Chitic's "Transfiguration."

As difficult as it was for our dramatists to seek, discover and invent solutions to reflect in their works the positive categories from social and individual life, it was just as difficult to approach certain negative aspects of the age. Whereas critical aspects connected with social or private reality in the first decade of the socialist revolution were the exclusive privilege of satirical comedies or comedies of morals and manners which most times, even in the case they were well written, sent a major problem into the minor key, wellmeaningly and accommodatingly (again, the comedies of Aurel Baranaga are proof; he himself attempted to force the critical limits of comedy), toward the end of the 60's, both current drama as well as historical drama made an important value leap with regard to the critical evaluation of history and modern days as exact as possible.

Undoubtedly in this value leap, which brought a true liberation of literary consciousness from the ballast of ideological inhibitions, there was great importance in the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses, which modernized the Romanian philosophical view of historical and social phenomena and made an analysis of the development of Romanian society, emphasizing the errors of the beginning stage of the revolutionary process, opening daring prospects in all areas of social life.

Proceeding from these impulses, the authors all at once found themselves facing some un hoped forthematic horizons, discovering, in contrast with the 50's, a dense, violent and rich dramatic material. Along with the other literary genres, dramaturgy became very ambitious in exercising its mission of bearing witness to an era. The revelation of the stock of themes offered by events of the 50's, for the last generation of dramatists, became a school of truth which extended to the writers' attitude toward the immediate reality, too, since, if we were to define a constant of our current dramatic literature, it would be the obsessive concern with delivering the truth.

Of course, Aurel Baranga was courageous when he wrote "Public Opinion," where he attacked ministers as well Paul Everac in "Underground," where he drew attention to a case of social failure to adapt, as was Tudor Mazilu, who signalled grave social symptoms of moral alienation through mediocrity and subculture, or Marin Sorescu, an expert in historical transparencies. The champion of this period of the explosion of protests against historical mystifications being D. R. Popescu, unmistakable in his passion for the allegorical restoration of certain historical facts. "A Bird On Another Day" is not only the title of a play but also the title of the theme preferred by the author. It also was a matter of "a bird on

another day," of the tragic guilt which did not stop being alive in our consciousness and ask punishment in "The Cat on New Year's Eve" and "An Osteologic Study of a Skeleton of a Horse From an AvarBurial Site in Transylvania," an epic and fresca of what in ordinary terms we call the accomplishment of socialist construction in Romania, but also in the plays by Romulus Guga ( "The Night of the Petty Meddlers," "Accidental Middle Ages" ) or in "The Chair" by Tudor Popescu, plays which reevaluate the often tragic relations between the individual and history.

The heroes of this new age of the dramaturgy of the truth no longer are merely theoretical symbols of a literary doctrine, but beings who they themselves relate to a complex and contradictory reality in dramatic series of agreements and disagreements. Ethicist works in the formula of a discussion or investigation appeared in considerable quantities but also of varying values; they mainly assumed the task of contributing to the revolutionization of the quality of the human being, to what entered into use with the expression of "formation of the new man," they, too, emphasizing the path toward the reflexivity of contemporary dramaturgy. Even now the social devotion, sacrifice for the job, the struggle for the production plan have remained positive in altruistic dramas of various scopes, however, on a very particular problem which would facilitate particular-affective communication.

In a relatively short interval of just 30 years, our dramaturgy has succeeded--and this is of the greatest importance--in establishing its mythology in which are concentrated dramatic nuclei, heroes and situations specific to the trends of Romanian contemporary society which, however, in order to be received as mythology, must be dedicated through insistence and productivity. Present in all the discussions of problems of modern society, dramaturgy in time made a true leap, culturally and educationally. The immediate effects of this campaign which dramaturgy undertook through the dozens of Romanian theaters are hard to evaluate, but there is no controversy about the fact that through the best examples the answer of dramatic literature to the formative desirable of society is continually more complete.

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CSO: 2700/267

## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT IN VRANCEA--Inasmuch as the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Vrancea County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Tabirca is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Vrancea County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 3]

DEPUTY MINISTER REMOVED--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Burada is removed from his position as deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 3]

APPOINTMENT IN TIMIS--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Timis County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Elena Pugna is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Timis County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 4]

INTERIOR MINISTRY PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Major General Vasile Moise is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the interior. Comrade Major General Gheorghe Zagoneanu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. Comrade Major General Vasile Aristotel Stamatoiu is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 42, 20 Apr 82 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCILS LAW CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Article 55, paragraph 2 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils is modified and will read as follows: "The executive committee or, according to the case, the

executive bureau of the peoples council has one secretary. The secretary of the executive committee of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality is appointed by presidential decree, at the proposed of the executive committee of the peoples council of the county or of Bucharest Municipality, with the approval of the Committee for Problems of Peoples Councils. The secretary of the committee or, according to the case, of the executive bureau of the peoples council of the municipality, of the sector of Bucharest Municipality, of the city, or of the commune is appointed by decision of the peoples council of the county or Bucharest Municipality, at the proposal of the executive committee or bureau of the respective peoples council." [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 2]

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WRITER DENIES JUSTNESS OF POET DJOGO'S JAILING

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 82 p 19

[Letter to editor by writer Jovica Acin]

[Text] The article about the most recent joint session of all chambers of the Belgrade City Assembly, published in POLITIKA of 21 April, included a section of the speech by delegate and writer Mira Aleckovic concerning the report on the work of the city's judiciary in 1981 and concerning the circuit public prosecutor's request for the assembly to "declare itself regarding support for the work of the judiciary." The prosecutor's request was based on the fact of public reactions to the trial and sentencing of poet Gojko Djogo.

Aleckovic, reflecting "not only on Djogo but also on similar other incidents in the realm of culture," underlined the need for a "political appraisal in such cases," stating (among other things): "Writers who are communists did not have an opportunity to declare themselves on Djogo's poems, we were simply bypassed." I am secretary of the aktiv of writer-communists of Serbia, but I can and will speak only in my own name, responsible to my own conscience. Inasmuch as Djogo's book has long since been burned up, the opportunity mentioned by Aleckovic has been missed forever. The matter of Djogo's trial was discussed at the sole meeting of the aktiv's secretariat since its election, as part of the preparations for the next electoral session of the aktiv. At that moment, the view prevailed--a view that was unprincipled if humanly comprehensible and motivated by faith in reason and in the possibility of an acquittal at some higher judicial level--that no public moves should be undertaken that could be understood as political pressure with undesirable consequences. After the decision of the higher court was announced, this faith was unfortunately shown to have been misplaced.

I personally felt and continue to feel that the writers' organization itself ought to speak up and declare itself publicly, defending its member or members absolutely "in such instances," ahead of the aktiv and ahead of any "political appraisal" of a literary work or the trial of its author. I am sure that the writers' organization would enjoy the support of writer-communists. On the other hand, it is not up to the aktiv to provide a "political appraisal" of a literary work. I am opposed to that, and I do not

agree that I was elected secretary of the aktiv for that purpose. However, if I have understood rightly, I agree with Aleckovic: the question is a matter of principle. To try a poet for his poems, or a fiction writer for his short stories, faces both writers and communists with the question of the relationship between repression and freedom of creativity in the severest and most urgent way. We need to discuss this question today, and to oppose repression that is incompatible with socialism, if we do not wish to be "bypassed."

My answer, if what is involved is a request for support for the "worthwhile work" of the judiciary in "resolving" an artistic work as an offense, would be an irrevocable and unambiguous NO. I am OPPOSED. For such a "no" and such opposition, the opportunity has never been lost and must not be lost. So far as the elements of the judiciary are concerned, it is up to them to make different use of their opportunity, the opportunity that they are letting slip: to see to it that their mistake in this specific case of the unjust imprisonment of a person for poetry is not perpetuated as irreparable.

CSO: 2800/390

ISLAMIC AGITATION FROM ABROAD REPORTED

Sarajevo PREPOROD in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 82 p 6

[Speech by Dr Ahmed Smajlovic, president of the Association of Islamic Elders, at the third meeting of the Assembly of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia]

[Excerpt] In the past period there have been several instances of irresponsible action, [i.e.] self-styled and unauthorized representation of our Islamic community by individuals inside the country, as well as from some of our refugees abroad. [Although] far from our reality, burdened by ignorance of the essence and value of our social order, individuals who are members of the Islamic faith are using the foreign press, radio, television, and special celebrations to bring out untruths about our country, about the position of our religious communities, about Moslems, mosques, and many other things. There are certain Moslems who have been living for a long time in other countries, who belong to so-called intellectualist circles where one would expect both a humanist and scholarly consciousness, objectivity, good will and tolerance, [but] who permit themselves to write untruths about Moslems in Yugoslavia, doing this without personal insight or knowledge, without trustworthy sources or documents, study, or real intention to research. They thereby want to leave among the masses of the uninformed in these countries [where they reside] a negative impression, or to contribute to the fact that confusion will continue in regard to our country, [its] Moslems, mosques, freedom, and all else. These and other such individuals abroad who are trying to proclaim themselves, for various reasons, as protectors of religious life in our country but who from time immemorial have been among those who not only discredit the work of our Islamic community but portray it in a distorted light, are inventing facts or are presenting them erroneously, incompletely, and tendentiously. Thus, for instance, they cite the number of churches, mosques, and synagogues destroyed throughout Yugoslavia, but they do not say who has done this or when. Also, they avoid giving facts on new construction.

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## POLITICAL CRIME STATISTICS REPORTED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 82 p 12

[Excerpt] Last year 594 persons were charged with political crimes in Yugoslavia (including 300 in Kosovo, 97 in other republics, and one in Vojvodina linked with the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo). This was reported at a meeting of public prosecutors which opened on 21 April in Belgrade. Public Prosecutor Dr Vuko Goce-Gucetic said that the political situation in the country is basically good. Of course, one must continue to watch the very complex situation in Kosovo, but if that situation is not taken into consideration, all other political delinquency has been declining in form and scope. Gucetic said that public prosecutors must not tolerate attacks on socialism under the guise of democracy, but it is also unacceptable to impede democratic expression in the name of socialism. It was reported that of the 594 political cases last year, 300 were in Kosovo, 81 persons were charged with political crimes in Croatia, 53 in Serbia, 50 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 48 in Macedonia, 26 in Slovenia, 21 in Montenegro, and 15 in Vojvodina. Most were committed by workers (42 percent), followed by students (24 percent), intellectuals (16 percent), and peasants (somewhat more than 7 percent). Also, in 1981 a total of six persons were charged with press violations (one each from Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo; and two persons from Slovenia). In four cases the distribution of printed material was prohibited (twice in Croatia, once in Bosnia-Herzegovina and once in Montenegro). Although there continue to be damaging and alien views published in the press, this number [of banned publications] has declined drastically, considering that in 1971 in Belgrade alone there were 12 cases in which published material was banned. The [present] cases largely pertain to attempts to rehabilitate the Cominform and the discrediting or false presentation of our revolution and postwar development.

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## BRIEFS

POLEMICS OVER MONTENEGRIN BOOK--Vuko Vukadinovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Montenegro, was asked: "When speaking about the LC experiences in Montenegro, one cannot evade the manifestations of Albanian nationalism in some Montenegrin areas, nor also the polemics called forth by the book by Spiro Kulisic on the ethnogenesis of the Montenegrin people, can one?" Vukadinovic replied: "The appearances of Albanian nationalism in certain areas in Montenegro have met decisive resistance among Albanians, Montenegrins, and Moslems. Nor has there been any giving in to Montenegrin or Moslem nationalism. The polemics about ethnogenesis are a recent occurrence, so because of this and because they have been carried on with great passion in the daily press, they are remembered most. This is only a fragment of a nationalist legal action of many years, which has been carried on, sometimes openly, sometimes in a hidden way, regarding the Montenegrin culture and nation. The Kulisic book is not the cause but only the occasion [for nationalist manifestations]." [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 82 p 7]

LCY MEMBERSHIP--Young people (under 27 years of age) account for 35.6 percent of the LCY membership. A review of the proportion of party members within the population and the number of employed persons (in the socialized sector) shows sometimes large differences from one [republic, provincial] LC organization to another. This is seen from the following table:

<u>LC</u>	<u>Percentage of LC members within the population</u>	<u>Percentage of LC members within the employed population</u>
SFRY	9.1	22.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	8.9	32.5
Montenegro	12.4	34.6
Croatia	7.4	18.7
Macedonia	7.2	23.0
Slovenia	6.5	...
Serbia	9.5	28.7
--Not including the provinces	10.1	27.9
--Kosovo	5.6	29.4
--Vojvodina	10.7	30.5

[Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 82 p 11]